Daily Report

East Europe

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-181 *19 September 1994*

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FRY Protests to UN Over Assault on Diplomats

LD1609192094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 16 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia Thursday presented a note of protest to the United Nations because its diplomats had been abused and physically assaulted at the Geneva U.N. headquarters.

Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. mission in Geneva Vladimir Pavicevic presented the note to the Director-General of the U.N. headquarters in Geneva Vladimir Petrovski. The note will be delivered Friday to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, German Ambassador to Geneva Alois Jelonek, and Switzerland's permanent observer at the U.N. Bernard de Reitman.

In the incident on Wednesday a group of journalists accredited at the U.N. physically blocked the movements of two Yugoslav diplomats—adviser to the permanent mission Miroslav Milosevic and third secretary Milan Milanovic. The journalists insulted the Yugoslav diplomats, and demanded that they show their identification papers before leaving the U.N. building. Correspondent Andreas Zumach of the German paper DIE TAGES ZEITUNG physically assaulted Milanovic, jeopardizing his physical and moral integrity, the protest note said. Milanovic refrained from reacting.

The incident took place immediately after former Yugoslavia Conference Co-Chairman David Owen had finished a press conference.

Because of this "unprecedented act of brutality," the Yugoslav permanent mission at the U.N. headquarters in Geneva urges that the director-general at the U.N. headquarters deprive the German journalist of his accreditation.

The Yugoslav mission urges that a report on the incident be included in the U.N. secretary-general's report on violations of immunity and physical integrity of diplomatic representatives, under U.N. Resolution A/47/31.

PABSEC Meets To Discuss Economic Development

AU1809151294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli]

[Text] The Economic Commercial Technological and Environmental Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [PABSEC] opened its third meeting in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana this morning. This is the first time that the PABSEC countries have held a meeting in Albania. As you have been informed, the Georgian and Moldovan representatives were unable to attend. Besides the PABSEC members, other guests and diplomatic representatives also participated in the meeting.

Environmental protection, particularly around the Black Sea region, and problems related to regional economic development were the main issues put forward by Mr. Cristian Dumitrescu, chairman of the Economic Commercial Technological and Environmental Affairs Committee, in his opening speech. Biologists have examined the extremely critical situation and have determined that if immediate measures are not taken, the Black Sea in 10-15 years could turn into a dead sea with serious ecological consequences for the region, Dumitrescu stressed in his speech, assessing the interest in the stance maintained by several member countries and other European institutions on this problem.

Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova assessed that the progress achieved so far is a result of consistent work and many efforts to overcome various obstacles. He also focused on Albania's contribution in accelerating the progress and in forwarding various initiatives within the PABSEC framework. Mr. Starova pointed out that in order to increase economic and trade exchanges, it is necessary to reach an agreement on improving customs regulations for the PABSEC member countries. He also said that Albania supports the idea of an extensive development project and is ready to begin creating free trade areas and collaborating to expand cooperation in the field of exchanges and technical assistance between authorities and specialized institutions of the PABSEC member countries.

Painting a broader picture of PABSEC cooperation, Mr. Starova stressed that with an intense desire by all parties, this could serve as a positive factor to help strengthen the spirit of friendship, peace, and stability in the region by contributing to the resolving of political problems as well. Starova said that peace and stability in the region are an indispensable condition for PABSEC's future.

Albanian Parliament Chairman Pjeter Arbnori in his address stressed that even though the PABSEC countries have reached various development levels through their own personal schemes, we are able to see a general inclination toward democracy, pluralism, and economic reform, which is led by a market economy. It is the duty of our parliaments to help the economic reform along with new legislation. The question of rates and ways to accomplish it is a question for every member country.

Continuing his speech, Mr. Arbnori stressed our current economic developments.

The PABSEC meeting today approved the daily agenda and several reports. Those present listened to the draft report on the environmental situation of the Black Sea by PABSEC Vice President Ivanci Nikolae Valeanu.

In the afternoon, the PABSEC meeting continued with discussions on the draft report on the environmental condition of the Black Sea. They are still discussing ways to establish a special committee on environmental issues.

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Decree Issued Requiring Visas for Greek Citizens

AU1609191994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] At the proposal of the Council of Ministers, today, 16 September 1994, President of Albania Sali Berisha has issued Decree No. 919 making several amendments to Decree No. 7,393, dated 12 June 1990, on passports and visas.

This decree confirms that from Wednesday, 21 September 1994, visas will be reintroduced for all Greek citizens entering the territory of the Republic of Albania.

Ministry Denies Greek Claims of Border Closings

AU1609193594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Regarding the latest statement by Greek Government Spokesman Venizelos, alleging that Albania has blocked all Greek traffic at the border, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry has confirmed that this is absolutely untrue and a fraud.

It is not the Albanian Government that has closed the border, but it is the Greek Government that, arbitrarily and for several years, has intended to block the free movement of citizens, and not only them. Fraud and provocations do not contribute anything to the dialogue requested by the Albanian Government but refused by the Greek Government.

Ministry Protests Greek Border 'Discrimination'

AU1609200494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Note issued by the Foreign Ministry; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Foreign Ministry data confirm that the Embassy of the Greek Republic in Tirana and its consulate in Gjirokaster have drastically reduced the issuing of visas for Albanian citizens of Albanian nationality. At the same time, on the Greek border crossing points of Kakavije, Kapshtice, and Corfu, the movement of such nationals to Greece has been continuously limited for days on end. There were even cases when they were not allowed through even when they had business passports.

The Greek border authorities have invalidated all the visas issued before 9 September 1994. Albanian nationals who have managed to obtain Greek visas and have been allowed to cross the border are, for the most part, members of the Greek minority, thus discriminating against Albanian citizens of Albanian nationality.

This discrimination by the Greek side runs counter to the Albanian Human Rights Charter and international practice. Greece will bear full responsibility for these discriminatory acts.

We protest and call on the Greek side to be realistic and abandon this brutal practice and this unacceptable stance.

Ministry Spokesman on Expulsion of Greek Diplomats

AU1609203094 Paris AFP in English 2009 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Tirana, Sept 16 (AFP)—Albania has ordered two Greek Embassy officials to leave the country within seven days, Albanian Foreign Ministry spokesman Alfred Serreqi said Friday [16 September].

Late Thursday, the Greek Foreign Ministry condemned an Albanian request for Greece to reduce its embassy staff in Tirana.

Interviewed by AFP, Sereqi confirmed the expulsion of two officials, Georgios Daskalakis and Ioannis Koulas. Last April, Albania asked Greece to reduce its embassy staff, which is larger than the Albanian representation in Athens, Sereqi said. But Greece did not respond to the request, he added. The Greek Embassy in Tirana has six diplomats and 11 administrative employees, while the Albanian Embassy in Athens numbers four diplomats and two administrative staff, Sereqi said.

He also denied Athens' charge Albania had closed the Kakavia and Kapshtica border posts. "It is the Greek Government who has closed the border not the Albanian Government," he said, condemning the charge as a "provocation" by Athens.

PDD Leader Outlines Land, Agriculture Policy

AU1609141594 Tirana E DJATHTA in Albanian 9 Sep 94 p 3

[Interview with Petrit Kalakula, deputy and chairman of the Central Provisional Organizational Commission of the PDD, by E DJATHTA editor in Tirana; date not given: "The Peasants Cannot Be Deceived by the Demagogy of Communists and Demo-Communists"]

[Text] [E DJATHTA] Mr. Petrit, the PDD [Right-Wing Democratic Party] is accused of trying to bring back the Cifligars [big landlords]. The peasants are being told that the PDD will bring the Beys and Agas [aristocrats] back to the countryside and take the land away from them." As a member of the PDD, what would you say to this?

[Kalakula] These accusations are not new. They are the same ones that the PPSH [Party of Labor of Albania] used against the PD [Democratic Party] during the elections of 31 March 1991 and 22 March 1992. The neo-communists of the PD are using now the same old language against the PDD. This common strategy confirms the fact that there is no difference whatsoever between the PPSH mother party and its daughter parties, the PS [Socialist Party] and PD. People are becoming more and more convinced of this with each passing day.

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Now let us turn to your question. I would like to stress from the outset that the PDD's program does not call for land to be taken away from its rightful owners and given to someone else. On the contrary, our party is demanding the restoration of property rights. The communists forcefully dispossessed the legitimate owners of their land and made it state property. The neo-communists of the PD are behaving far worse than that by distributing the land belonging to legitimate owners arbitrarily, without any criteria. Look at the land law, which distributes the land to each member of the population like rations of beans or a bar of soap. Even the communists did not make such a blunder. The 1946 reform distributed the land to married couples, not to each member of the population.

Both the old and new communists are trying to capitalize on the terms "Beys," "Agas," and "Cifligars." It is a typical communist game of speculation. The terms "Bey" and "Aga" were aristocratic titles, not necessarily linked to land ownership. As far as the term "Cifligar" is concerned, those who claim to be fluent in so many foreign languages must know that in Turkish it means "owner," a person who has his own plot of land. In the United States and Europe, this would be the equivalent of a farmer, a person who has a farm. The offshoots of the communists are using these terms as a bugbear to intimidate the peasants. The PDD has clearly stated that property—including land, olive groves, orchards, pastures, and forests—must be restored to the owners who were in possession of it prior to 1946. This is a legal right that is recognized and implemented throughout the whole democratic world. It was what happened in many post-communist countries such as Bulgaria, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Poland and [East] Germany. In other countries, such as Romania and Hungary, the reform has become bogged down, but even there it is leading to the full restitution of property to those who owned it before the communists came to power. In the United States there is a lot of talk about giving the Indian tribes back the land that was stolen by the whites more than 300 years ago. To all who are honest and realistic, the restoration of property to its rightful owner is a fundamental moral duty.

[E DJATHTA] So you are in favor of restoring property even to the former owners (we shall not call them Beys, Agas, or Cifligars any more) who are actually living in the towns, but had land in the countryside?

[Kalakula] The PDD calls them owners like any others, and is in favor of their regaining all the rights they are entitled to.

[E DJATHTA] Is there not a risk that the solution you are offering could create conflicts between the peasants who have been given land under the present land law and the owners asking for total restitution of their property? The former are peasants who never had land before, but now that they have it, they are not willing to give it back.

[Kalakula] That is a very good question, for this is precisely the thing that the PS communists and the PD neo-communists are speculating with most of all. The peasant is much smarter than some people imagine. With his characteristic pragmatism, he has come to understand that if not today, then tomorrow, and if not under this government, then under another government, property will be returned without fail to its rightful owner. There is thus no danger whatever of any social conflicts. There are many instances of peasants themselves going to see the former owners in order to reach agreement with them about the land. There are also many instances of peasants, regardless of the pressures and threats against them by the government, refusing to get their title deeds. The real danger of severe social conflict arises in the forceful implementation of the communist land law. This danger will become inevitable, especially after the law on buying and selling land, which is to be submitted by the government to parliament for approval, is ratified. When the legitimate owners see their land, which they bought for gold, being sold for nothing or they see the people who got it free of charge, they will find it difficult to restrain themselves.

[E DJATHTA] In some areas, like northeastern Albania, the land has not been distributed according to the law but according to the "old boundaries," which means that some people have taken back the land they had before. In other areas, the land has been divided up by violent means. What kind of problems does this create?

[Kalakula] In many parts of the country, especially the mountainous ones, and in some other districts, even Tirana district, the peasants have returned to the land that they once owned. It has been observed that, while in the central and southern areas of Albania, the government is insisting on implementing the law even by resorting to violence, in the northeast it has given its tacit consent to land division according to the old boundaries. This shows on one hand a lack of seriousness on the part of the government, and on the other, it shows the parochial tendencies of certain local government officials, together with the government's impotence in imposing its will on the people. It is clear that this kind of differentiated approach greatly tarnishes the state's image in the eyes of the peasantry.

[E DJATHTA] Under the PDD program of returning land to its rightful owners, how will the landless peasants be treated?

[Kalakula] It is stated explicitly in the PDD program that no peasant will be left without land. It is a well known fact that over 83 percent of peasant families had their own land. They are not asking for more than that. The landless peasants are to be found mainly in Myzeqe, the plain of Korce, and Bregu i Matit. Our party does not propose ejecting them from the land they have received under the present law. They will stay where they are, but they will pay the owner rent as defined by a special law. Is not the land tax that has been approved by the

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parliament a kind of rent that the peasants have to pay to the state, which in this case virtually remains the landowner? This rent will increase year by year, like other taxes. Would the peasant therefore not prefer to have dealings with the real landowner, rather than live with the uncertainty that one day he will be dispossessed of his land? We propose that the peasant should not be removed from the land for a period of three to five years, after which a regular contractual relationship between the peasant and the landowner will be established.

In areas where the state owns land, for example in Myzeqe, Korce, and Thumane, the former owners—if they wish—could be given the same amount of land that they had elsewhere before on the state farms, where the land is of a better quality, and where they could have a whole parcel of land in one place. In this way we would create the large private farms that are so necessary for the prosperity of agriculture in our country.

[E DJATHTA] What will happen to the state enterprises whose land has already been divided up among the agricultural workers? Is there any likelihood that the PD government will give them the land free of charge, just to get their votes? What will happen to the families that have come from the north-east and settled down in these former enterprises?

[Kalakula] This question covers three issues, which I will deal with one at a time. First, we advocate the soonest possible reorganization of the agricultural enterprises where the land is owned by the state into shareholding enterprises where the state will remain the owner of the land, while the workers will be given 49 percent of the shares free of charge. The other 51 percent of the shares will initially remain state property. Later, they will be sold into private hands, as is the practice in all other capitalist countries. From what we have seen to date, simply giving the land to agricultural workers has brought nothing good. On the contrary, the enterprises have been destroyed and a good part of the land has become waste. As far as I am concerned, dissolving the state agricultural enterprises was a criminal error that caused incalculable losses to the national economy and the development prospects of our country's agriculture. Second, there can be no likelihood that the PD will take the step that you mentioned. There is no doubt that it would be a very big mistake, and would fail to meet the vast needs of thousands of families living under very difficult conditions in the former state enterprises. The overwhelming majority of the families living on state farms are looking for work, not seeking to become owners of a patch of land without any means of working on it. We are looking forward to joining Europe, not becoming a Bangladesh or Cambodia. Third, I consider the government's decision to bring families from the northeast and settle them on former state enterprises in the lowlands a mistake, or even an unlawful act. As I have said several times in the past, this is not the way to solve the extremely difficult problems that these people are faced with. What are they reducing them to? They give them a small plot of land, but no house, no water, no electricity, and no other means of starting their lives over. So the poor people are lured, happy to begin with because they are coming to Tirana or Durres. Then they build a hovel and wander all over town in search of work. A serious state does not shuffle its citizens around so shamefully. The state must work on a program so that the people of these areas and other mountainous parts of the country become gradually integrated into other sectors of our economy such as construction, tourism, and so forth, and not be displaced from one village to the next. In the meantime, these families must be helped to find employment in forestry and mining, and must be assisted by grants and aid to develop animal husbandry.

[E DJATHTA] Finally, Mr. Petrit, there is great discontent among the peasants in the countryside at how the assets of the former collective farms have been distributed. The lion's share was grabbed by the communists and other leading figures, and the peasants were given the crumbs. There is talk of embezzlement and injustice. How would the PDD solve this serious problem?

[Kalakula] It is true that when the agricultural cooperatives were being dismantled, there was a huge amount of misappropriation and theft. Some of the assets, especially the livestock, were removed by the more dexterous ones, and a great number of the facilities and means of production were bought at ridiculous prices, mainly by the category of people that you mentioned. I myself suffered in this, since I worked for over 16 years in three different agricultural cooperatives, and have not yet been given a penny. Parliament has passed a law on oversight of the distribution of the former collective farm assets, and the State Control Service was tasked with the job. Since then, however, nothing has been done. It seems that this law will suffer the same fate as the presidential decree on verifying the business activities of the red businessmen, which has remained a worthless piece of paper. The sons and heirs of the communists naturally cannot raise their hands against their spiritual brothers. This attitude is part of the support given to the "new owners." In accordance with the principles of a law-governed state and the fight against corruption, the PDD is demanding a profound and detailed investigation into how the assets of the former collective farms were distributed in order to restore the rights of all former members of the agricultural cooperatives. Unless this is done, there will be neither peace nor harmony in our countryside.

[E DJATHTA] Thank you.

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Leaders React to, Comment on Situation in Haiti

Havel: Fate of Democracy

LD1609123294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel believes that in the event of a military intervention in Haiti, the renewal of democracy will not cost lives. Through his press spokesman, Ladislav Spacek, President Havel answered a question today about his view on a probable military intervention against the Haitian junta. The president considers the Czech Republic's stand on the overall issue, as expressed by its vote in the UN Security Council, to be an expression of our interest in the fate of democracy anywhere in the world.

Klaus: 'Marginal' Interest

LD1709105894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has commented on the situation in Haiti during a rally at Sumperk. Tomas Sulak, from Czech Radio Olomouc, reports:

[Sulak] As to the invasion of Haiti, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that the Czech Republic's interest in the matter is marginal and our views [hlas] are marginal as well. Despite the fact that the Czech Republic is a member of the United Nations Security Council, there is no way we should be in the foreground of such activity.

Zieleniec Comments

LD1709115894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Text] After his return from Africa, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec spoke today to Czech Radio about the situation in Haiti:

[Begin Zieleniec recording] It is clear that the regime in Haiti is not democratic and has overthrown the properly elected president. It is clear that the regime has grossly violated human rights. The regime has forced a great number of people to leave the country.

On the other hand, we have to be aware of the fact that democracy and a prospering society, prospering state, prospering economy always result from the activities of the citizens of a given state. It is not possible to impose them from outside. It is not possible to enforce them. That is why it is important to realize that everything is in the hands of Haitian citizens. Their ability to cope with this task will decide their future. [end recording]

Klaus Interviewed About EU, Zieleniec Recall

AU1809133294 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 9 Sep 94 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "The Current Government Devotes Most of Its Time to Issues Other Than Economic Ones"]

[Text] We devote today's regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to the matter of submitting our application to the European Union [EU] and to the idea of a two-speed Europe. We will also discuss the speculation surrounding the alleged preparations to recall Minister Zieleniec.

[Krejci] You have said that 1996 would be the optimum date for submitting our application to the European Union. Why does this particular date seem to you to be the most appropriate?

[Klaus] The time to submit our application is associated with the time when we expect realistically that it will be accepted sincerely and given thorough consideration. It seems to us that the European Community will be occupied sufficiently until 1996 with the issues involved in incorporating the four new members into all the European structures and, at the same time, that it will be faced with a great many issues concerning the formation of a European Union containing a large number of members. For this reason, a major inter-government conference will be held in 1996 at which the next phase of the European Union should be defined clearly. We are convinced that, immediately after this conference, there will be scope for initiating the important serious negotiations on the Czech Republic's entry; this will certainly not be any sooner, however.

[Krejci] What is your view of the statements by some German and French politicians that a resolute core of the European Union, which would become integrated faster than the "periphery", should be established?

[Klaus] From the point of view of the European Union, we are, at the moment, outsiders and, if Germany wants to move closer to France and the Benelux countries than to Italy and Britain, we should only express our opinions quietly and with great caution.

Despite this, if I were to offer an assessment, I would say the following: The current debate about a so-called two-speed Europe obviously reflects a certain failure in the attempt to establish a one-speed Europe on the Maastricht basis. Because some of those who are very interested in this, primarily Germany and France, are beginning to get the feeling that this is impossible to implement in a 16-member Europe, they want to try to achieve this aim in a five- member Europe. I have no reason either to talk them out of it or advise them to do it. I think that, from the point of view of the Czech Republic's interests, we should either be neutral or, perhaps, slightly positive. That is to say, it would probably be easier to enter into the second-speed Europe than into a completely unified Europe striving for very rapid intensification.

[Krejci] Czech Social Democratic Party Chairman Zeman accused the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] in CESKY DENIK of reducing social transformation to economic transformation and of neglecting the social

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and ecological aspects. Similar objections are also often raised by ordinary people. What is your view?

[Klaus] First, I am very gratified that birds of a feather flock together and that Mr. Zeman is seen in CESKY DENIK. This really pleased me very much. Otherwise, I have to say that this is simply not true; it is a cliche that certain people have been repeating willfully for several years. The current government and myself, however, deal marginally with economic issues. On the contrary, we devote the overwhelming majority of our time to issues other than economic ones.

[Krejci] There has been speculation in the press that Foreign Minister Zieleniec should be recalled. Is there any truth to this?

[Klaus] I really do not like to respond to this kind of thing. That is to say, if I take this question at all seriously, I am afraid that by doing so I would be admitting—a little—that there could be something to it. So, my first reaction is not to accept such a question to ensure that I do not give any indication that it may be justified. However, this really is a supposition that certainly would not occur to anyone apart from the superficial instigators of disputes, who come from circles outside the ODS.

Klaus: No 'Fundamental' Budget Disagreements

AU1609185494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 15 Sep 94 p 3

[Report by "(mrk)": "The First Government Joust Over the Budget"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The government discussed the 1995 draft state budget for the first time at its session yesterday. The second, conclusive discussion on this material should take place in two weeks; the government must submit the working draft to the parliament before the end of September.

During the session, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that the ministers had approved the first part of the draft law, the macroeconomic framework for it, and the systemic changes envisaged in 1995, and had begun to deal with the actual revenue and expenditure aspect of the budget. According to Klaus, fundamental differences of opinion are not expected to crop up in the discussions on the requirements of the individual departments, because the entire draft has already been discussed tentatively. Therefore, the longest debate concerned the annually recurring arguments over "to what extent the budget should allocate one lump sum for the ministries or to what extent the ministries' individual budgets should be scrutinized." Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik is an advocate of an "apportioned budget," while the individual ministers are, apparently, opposed.

According to the prime minister, the government will also submit draft taxation laws to the parliament along with the draft budget. Compared with past years, this—according to Klaus—involves only a formal change. Reducing the taxation rates is, apparently, one of the main features of the budget. The prime minister said that the draft constitutional law on a mandatorily balanced budget was not discussed yesterday. [passage omitted]

Havel Comments on Need for Military Defense

LD1809131794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Shortly after midday today, President Vaclav Havel ended his visit to Pribyslav, where he attended the closing ceremony of the 570th anniversary of the death of Jan Zizka of Trocnov. Zdenka Cela, from Czech Radio Hradec Kralove, reports: [passage omitted]

[Cela] Speaking about the current significance of military defense, the president said:

[Havel] At present, nobody is directly threatening our state, our freedom, and the democratic values adopted by our society. This is why many people tend to consider the army to be an unnecessary luxury, to consider the money spent on it to be wasted, national service to be a waste of time, and military training to be folly. But such an attitude is extremely dangerous and it might even be suicidal. Our world is far from the situation when human freedoms, justice, and civic coexistence are commonplace without any need to think about their defense. A war is raging only a few hundred kilometers from Pribyslav; only a few hundred kilometers from here, civilians are being murdered, there are concentration camps there, and unbelievable atrocities are being committed. [passage omitted]

Coalition Leaders Meet on Budget Without Klaus

AU1609200594 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Sep 94 p 3

["(has)"-signed report: "Kalvoda, Lux, and Pilip Discussed the Budget Behind Klaus's Back"]

[Text] Prague—Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] Chairman Jan Kalvoda, Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] Chairman Josef Lux, and Christian Democratic Party Chairman Ivan Pilip met in the parliament building yesterday morning and discussed the formulation of the state budget and the KDU-CSL's demand to separate the pension fund from the state budget—a few hours before the early evening meeting involving the chairmen of the four coalition parties.

Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Chairman Vaclav Klaus did not take part in the meeting, despite being in the parliament at that time. "The meeting was held because all three of us were invited to different political clubs and we thought it necessary to exchange information on Wednesday's [14 September] government meeting on the budget," explained Kalvoda. He did not comment on the fact that the prime minister was in parliament at the

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same time. He refused to divulge any further details about the meeting, because "there are various coalition meetings not aimed at a public proclamation." In his view, the meeting involving the coalition troika was held quite by chance, but—apparently—he would not object to meeting more regularly.

The ODA chairman admitted that the KDU-CSL demand to separate the pension fund from the state budget in line with the government's policy statement was also discussed. "I believe our stances are similar," he emphasized. According to Kalvoda, the main topic of the evening meeting—reforming the territorial administration and making a possible change to the government's policy statement—were not discussed. "This is such a serious matter that I would be hesitant to mention it in public and express an opinion on it," he said apropos changing the policy statement.

Following the evening meeting involving all four chairmen, Klaus said that he did not know about the morning meeting of the "mini- troika." "I do not recommend that any fundamental conclusions be drawn from this," he added.

During his visit to the Left Bloc Club yesterday, Jan Kalvoda said that implementing the government's proposal for 17 units would be unfortunate. In his opinion, the solution to the territorial- administrative issue will not be found in the government, but in parliament. An ordinary law, not a constitutional one, should establish the jurisdiction of the new units. The anxiety expressed by the ODS and the opposition about wanton interference in favor of and against decisionmaking in the regions would—according to Kalvoda—be allayed by a political declaration by the two camps in the parliament.

Intelligence Director Discusses Supervision

AU1609150494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 15 Sep 94 p 3

[Interview with Stanislav Devaty, Security and Information Service director, by "(pb)"; place and date not given: "A Question for Stanislav Devaty"]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you think that the supervision of the intelligence services in the Czech Republic is thorough?

[Devaty] The issue of supervision came up during the approval of the law on the intelligence services. In the end, a compromise was reached that the supervision of all the intelligence services will be carried out by both the government and the parliament, while supervision of intelligence services other than the Security and Information Service [BIS] will be provided by a special law that is being prepared. So, at the moment, only the BIS is under thorough supervision. According to the law, military intelligence should also be under parliamentary supervision, but the parliamentary body has still not been established. With regard to whether supervision should be provided by the government or the parliament, based on my experiences under the former regime, I am of the following unequivocal opinion: The intelligence service should always be supervised by a body other than the executive.

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Foreign Ministry Endorses Haiti Military Action

LD1609153894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] A statement of our Foreign Ministry on the situation in Haiti says the Slovak Republic condemns the continuing gross infringement of democratic principles and suppression of human rights in that country.

It goes on to say that because all peaceful attempts by the international community to reestablish democracy in that Caribbean state have thus far failed, the Slovak Republic agrees that military action is the last possibility for solving the crisis which has arisen.

At the same time, however, the Foreign Ministry statement stresses that it hopes the highest military leaders of the Haitian Army will reassess their attitude and will prevent an armed conflict by immediately leaving the country.

Report Outlines Defense Ministry Reorganization

AU1809205394 Bratislava OBRANA in Slovak 17 Sep 94 p 1

[Report by "(fk)": "A Manifestation of the New Political Culture"]

[Text] A new organizational structure has been in place in the Defense Ministry since 1 September. It comprises the Defense Ministry Office, Defense Policy and Army Development Section, Logistics Section, Economic Policy Section, Foreign Relations Section, Social and Humanitarian Affairs Section, and the Defense Ministry Inspectorate (IMO). At a news conference held in the Defense Ministry on 14 September, reporters were most interested in whether the whole reorganization was carried out in the shadow of political purges.

"I would like to refute the charge that it involves a political purge," said Major General Rudolf Zidek, head of the Defense Ministry Office, right at the beginning. He based his conclusion on certain facts concerning specific personnel changes in the ministry's most important posts.

The Foreign Relations Section existed under the ministry's original structure. Colonel Ludovit Gal was its director. The defense minister has assigned him to the post of the section's deputy director within the framework of the reorganizational changes. The post of director has not been filled. The reason for this is that a civilian with diplomatic experience is to become the head of the Foreign Relations Section. In other words, the Defense Ministry is interested in an expert from a Foreign Ministry department.

The director of the Defense Policy and Army Development Section has also not been appointed. The Defense Ministry considers this section to be one of the most important ones.

In all probability, the defense minister will not fill these posts before the elections. Two deputy director posts in Defense Ministry sections are also vacant. So, the post-election defense minister will be able to fill them. Such a course of action in our part of the world is an undoubted manifestation of the new political culture.

The post of director of the Logistics Section and that of his deputy are held by the original functionaries. The situation is the same in the Economic Policy Section. The current director and his deputy worked under the original structures.

A change has been made in the Social and Humanitarian Affairs Section. The former director, Colonel Marian Trnka, is leaving to become the commander of a more senior replenishment command. He held a similar post prior to the establishment of the Defense Ministry.

According to Major General Zidek, following the reorganization at the Defense Ministry, 23 career soldiers and four civilian employees were without a position. However, this does not mean that they will be discharged from service, or, rather, made redundant. They will find positions in other elements of the Army.

Liberals Announce Withdrawal From Campaign

AU1609110294 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 14 Sep 94 p 1

[Interview with Pavol Weiss, executive secretary of the "Liberals," by "km"; place and date not given: "Everything To Strengthen the Right Wing"]

[Text] [SLOVENSKY DENNIK] You have repeatedly stressed that you would not run in the elections independently, but that you would support the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. Does this mean that you will forgo any representation of the Liberals in the parliament?

[Weiss] We go into the elections in one bloc with the KDH. Although we have filed our own slate of candidates, we did so only formally and, three days before the elections, we will withdraw our candidacy because we want the votes of all our supporters to go to the KDH. We have used our candidacy only as a means of influencing our voters through the mass media and so forth. However, we do not want a single vote to be cast for the Liberals.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] You have thus decided to retreat into the background as a party.

[Weiss] Exactly. The KDH is the only genuine right-wing party that will surely be represented in the parliament. We do not want to risk anything, let alone play hazardous games with the votes of our potential voters. We would gain a maximum of two percent of votes, which would then go to left-oriented parties, which is unacceptable to us. The situation in Slovakia is serious and everything possible must be done for the right wing to be

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strengthened. Our course of action is in no way unusual. During primary elections in the United States, for example, candidates who do not have too great a chance to succeed make the votes they won available to a strong political entity.

We are not concerned about our party at this moment. Once there is a right-wing climate in Slovakia, the Liberals, too, will profit from it. I consider the making available of our votes to the KDH to be the only correct solution.

HZDS Tops Election Poll in Eastern Slovakia

LD1709183494 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Excerpt] A pre-election opinion poll carried out by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic shows HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] gaining the highest number of votes in eastern Slovakia. Approximately 25 percent of votes would go to Vladimir Meciar's movement, while the post-communist Joint Choice [formed by the Party of the Democratic Left, Social Democratic Party of Slovakia, Green Party of Slovakia and Farmers' Movement in Slovakia] would gain 21 percent of votes. Jozef Moravcik's Democratic Union of Slovakia would take third place with 13 percent of votes. [passage omitted]

Party Chairmen Clash in Last Election Debate

LD1809163094

[Editorial Report] Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak at 1100 GMT on 18 September broadcasts its fourth and final scheduled 90-minute roundtable election debate. Participating were candidates of the six parties, movements, and coalitions currently represented in the Slovak National Council. They were, in the order they were introduced:

Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS);

Jan Slota, chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS);

Mikulas Dzurinda, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH);

Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL);

Pal Csaky, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), representing the Hungarian Coalition;

Jozef Moravcik, chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia (DU).

The purpose of the discussion was to give those named above an opportunity to give voters an assessment of the work of the current parliament and prospects for the post-election period. Each participant was allowed to speak for a total of 13 minutes over the duration of the entire program, with a time limit of 3 minutes imposed for any single answer to a question from the two announcers.

All six participants were invited to comment on the current political and economic situation in Slovakia, on the process leading to and the aftermath of the declaration of Slovak sovereignty in 1992, on the position of national minorities in Slovakia, and on what kind of government and government program Slovakia needed after the parliamentary elections to be held on 30 September-1 October.

Dzurinda stresses that the KDH is not a movement of turncoats and could be relied upon to remain consistent in terms of its orientation and policies. He says that the SDL-led Joint Choice coalition is not the only alternative to a HZDS government, while also not ruling out the possibility of the KDH cooperating with Meciar's HZDS. Dzurinda stresses his party's international contacts, the relative youth of its leading figures, and listed some of the achievements of KDH ministers in the current government. He opposes autonomy for parts of southern Slovakia with a Hungarian majority population.

The circumstances surrounding the departure of Moravcik, the current prime minister, and Michal Kovac, the current president, from Meciar's HZDS earlier this year were the subject of heated debate between Moravcik and Meciar.

Moravcik repeatedly stresses his opposition to the concentration of power in the hands of one party or one person. He praises the work of the current government, opposes autonomy for Hungarians, and expresses a willingness to cooperate with anyone who favored parliamentary democracy and opposed the concentration of power. Referring to the HZDS, Moravcik said:

"Words and a program are not enough. Sufficient strength and the correct method are required to implement those words and program. The HZDS wasted its chance. It showed itself to be capable of confrontation, and that it even has confrontation in its program, namely electing a new president, changing the political system, holding new parliamentary elections, and so on.

That is not a guarantee of political stability. Words are not enough. Deeds are required. What is required is a clear goal and emphasis on how to achieve it."

Meciar labels those who split from the HZDS along with Moravcik and Kovac as traitors, and condemns Moravcik's government for destroying the economy and bringing poverty to thousands of Slovaks. He says that Slovaks should vote for strong leadership, arguing that another coalition government will only bring further political and economic instability. Meciar describes the elections as giving Slovaks a choice of two alternatives:

"Slovakia is again at a crossroads. There are two alternatives. We represent one of them, and the other is

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represented by the gentlemen sitting opposite us. Only the citizen can decide in this dispute.

The HZDS represents a comprehensive alternative form of development [ucelenu a kompleksnu alternativu vyvoja]. It is an alternative based on revitalizing the growth of society, revitalizing the economy, changing the social system and social security. It has a precise mathematical calculations [konkretne matematicke vyjadrenie] and a definite political program.

Citizens, make a decision about these two alternatives. You are not making a decision for four years, but for decades.

Our alternative is based on giving priority to domestic resources, domestic development opportunities, on support for the creation of a domestic business stratum and not selling out to foreigners, not kowtowing to the West, but faith in our own strength, abilities, and future.

Make a decision, people, and watch out. You have to go to vote. Whoever sits at home statistically votes for everyone, including Mr. Csaky and Mr. Duray [chairman of the Coexistence Movement]."

Weiss portrays his Joint Choice coalition as guarantor of political equilibrium and the only alternative to an HZDS Government, pledges to end income polarization, improve the health of the population, create jobs, increase investment needed for the restructuring of the economy, and create conditions for Slovakia's entry into the European Union. He describes autonomy for Hungarian regions as unacceptable.

Csaky argues for decentralization and economic autonomy, and calls upon all to acknowledge that minorities are a part of Slovak society. He says that the Hungarians sought greater involvement in managing their own schools and culture, and demanded the right to be different. They did not, however, seek any special administrative rights. Csaky declares that the Hungarian Coalition is willing to cooperate with any intelligent partner.

Slota says the SNS is against the existence of Hungarian parties in Slovakia, which he said may be in breach of the Constitution. He pledges to end what he calls the Magyarization of southern Slovakia and subsidies to Hungarian culture. He also opposes the alleged Americanization of culture, condemned the soaring crime rate, and repeatedly objected to the selling of Slovak state property to foreign companies for allegedly paltry sums. Slota said that the SNS saw itself as closer to HZDS than any other party.

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Prime Minister Horn on Foreign Policy Issues

LD1809212994 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified correspondent at the Duna Television studios in Budapest on 18 September; from the "Weekly Courier" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Today's guest of "Weekly Courier" [Hirmondo] is Gyula Horn, prime minister of the Hungarian Republic, whom we greet with respect and love here in the studio—on behalf of you, the listeners as well. [passage omitted] We have received an enormous number of questions from Sweden to Israel about the present and future of our homeland. [passage omitted]

We journalists have observed a certain degree of restlessness, dubiousness among the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia, Vojvodina, and Transylvania about the minority policy of the current Hungarian Government. This is understandable to some extent because after long decades of neglect, the Jozsef Antall-led government undertook to represent the problems of the Hungarians beyond the borders, it declared to undertake responsibility for the Hungarians there and they now feel that the new government does not appear to extend the same care toward them.

[Horn] [Passage omitted] How can a government that always operates only within our country's borders, undertake responsibility for solving the problems of Hungarians living beyond the border—and do so without the cooperation of the government of the country in question? The problems of the Hungarians living in Romania must be solved jointly by the Romanians and Hungarians there. It is impossible to do so from here in Budapest. For example, the problem of the Hungarians of Romania getting squeezed out of the privatization process in Romania. Regrettably they are getting squeezed out of the privatization decisionmaking process in Romania—for example, this cannot be solved from Budapest. As to what kind of conditions should prevail in culture, education, language use should depend, again, on the laws, practices, and financial means of the given country. I could go on listing these.

In other words, we have no sense of mission, missionary zeal. [passage omitted] We believe that we must change policy—and here there is a significant difference between our concept and that of the previous government's—that we say that if we succeed in establishing good-neighborly relations with the surrounding states, it will be beneficial to the Hungarians living there too. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Among our compatriots who live beyond the borders it is the Hungarians in Vojvodina who are in the greatest danger—it is their life and existence that are at risk. Here is a video recording in which Jozsef Kasza, mayor of Subotica [Szabadka] is putting a question to you.

[Begin Kasza recording] [passage omitted] Mr. Prime Minister, how do you see the possibility of settling things with Serbia in the framework of a government program that takes into account the assertion of human rights? After all, minority rights are guaranteed in the Serbian Constitution but the practice is completely different, and this is the reason for the wretched state of affairs of the Hungarians in Vojvodina, for their migration, the shrinking of our school network, and for our economic impoverishment. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Horn] I would like to emphasize that what I am going to say is not a rejection of the question. On the contrary, I accept what Mr. Mayor said—I even know him personally—about the situation of the Hungarians in Vojvodina, I agree with it. Regrettably, in any conflict situation it is always the disadvantaged minorities who suffer first, they are the victims of the situation that developed in Serbia, in rump Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Contrary to what the questioner asserted, it is not the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian Government program that should guarantee the rights of minorities in Vojvodina, but it is always the country, the country's government where they live that must undertake these guarantees. However, we can influence and want to influence. [passage omitted]

We have said that the condition for improving relations is the cessation of the discrimination against, the persecution and the squeezing into the background of the Hungarians in Vojvodina. In respect of the Vojvodina Hungarians we request—as we request elsewhere in respect of Hungarians—that a positive discrimination should be implemented toward them, both in terms of behavior and means. We are negotiating, we are open toward each other in the sense that the Bosnian crisis is moving toward a solution, and in that framework I trust that we could exert the appropriate influence on the Serb leadership too.

[Correspondent] A few days ago in Budapest, at the Vojvodina Hungarian Days organized by the Hungarian poets of Vojvodina, there was a virtual cry for immediate help because it was said that unless help was extended their institutions and education network would completely collapse. Perhaps the partial lifting of the embargo against rump Yugoslavia will now enable the mother country to help more effectively.

[Horn] I would like to stress that the new Hungarian Government does not reduce the existing support whatsoever. This statement, by the way, refers also to the Hungarians in Romania, Slovakia, or Vojvodina. However, we believe that the support that we extend must be made more open, its distribution more democratic and rational. It is the system of distribution that must be changed and not the amount of it.

At the same time, we expect very strong cooperation between the mother country and the Hungarians in

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Vojvodina. Please, formulate concretely those requests that could strengthen these programs of assistance and we are ready, in accordance with the country's means, to do everything to ease their problems. However, the true easing, the true solution lies in a different political situation there, naturally.

[Correspondent] The question now put to you from Bratislava by Miklos Duray, chairman of Coexistence [largest ethnic Hungarian party in Slovakia], refers to the apparent difference between the Hungarian Government's program and practice.

[Begin Duray recording] Mr. Prime Minister, I said earlier that the part of the Hungarian Government's program that deals with the situation of the Hungarians living abroad and relations with neighboring countries is reassuring for us, especially in comparison to what happened in the election campaign here or what was said in the period before the elections. We noted this in a statement with Laszlo Toekes [honorary president of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania] a few days ago. In connection with this I would like to ask the following:

Despite the fact that the government program asserts that the Hungarian Government—in respect of treaties and its future relations with neighboring countries, as well as in respect of the cause of the Hungarians living there—will not take steps without soliciting in advance the view of the legitimate representatives of the Hungarians living there and will not take steps against the Hungarians living there. On 7 September, Gabor Fodor, Hungarian minister of culture and education, visited Bratislava and signed an educational—or more precisely—cultural agreement. Nobody consulted with us in advance over this and even now we do not know the content of the agreement. This is the case despite the fact that this agreement is one of the most important ones between the two countries, because the cause of education, school, and culture are the most significant part of safeguarding the Hungarian identity and in the development of Hungarians beyond Hungary's borders.

Are we to interpret this as a divergence from the government program, or was it just a failure to ensure consultation in advance? [end recording]

[Horn] Miklos Duray, when referring to the election campaign and the statements made then, is surely thinking about his own declarations, because we have not changed anything whatsoever from what we said in the election campaign. We are still saying the same thing. [passage omitted]

I met Miklos Duray and the other leaders of ethnic Hungarian parties after the formation of the Hungarian Government in the National Assembly building and we had a long discussion about what to do, about the Hungarian-Slovak relationship, and all the things we wished to do. Then, too, I said that we would consult on every important issue. However, it is possible that either he or I misunderstood it then because the situation is this. In interstate affairs—which, particularly also affect Hungarians, naturally, but not only the Hungarians—no government can afford to paralyze itself and not to hold negotiations with the partner. We do hold negotiations but we do not make decisions that are in conflict with the interests of Hungarians.

I said it then and I say it now. We wish to consult about the basic treaty, which deals with the border issue or the guarantees of minority rights and about principles regarding other matters. In fact, we have already consulted. Let me just say, that when I held negotiations here in Bratislava I informed him about the results of the negotiations. In other words, we will consult in the future too. However, it must be said that it does not mean that there is a need for us to coordinate in advance over every single issue or even details of an issue. We know the views and stands of Duray and the other leaders of the ethnic Hungarian parties and we take these into account when elaborating agreements, but please, let us act. The Hungarian-Slovak relationship is such that progress must be made, because the tension harms Duray's people as well as the Hungarians there, not only us here.

[Correspondent] Can we learn what agreement Fodor signed?

[Horn] I will ask Fodor upon his return to give an exact account of what he agreed with the Slovak side. To the best of my knowledge there is no new element whatsoever in this agreement, nothing that has not been clarified earlier.

[Correspondent] Sure. When you recently visited Bratislava you negotiated with President Kovac and the chairman of the Slovak Government. Should Vladimir Meciar win the next election, would you be willing to sign the Hungarian-Slovak Treaty with him too?

[Horn] Look, I held negotiations with President Kovac and the Slovak prime minister, and with Meciar too. The talks with Meciar lasted more than 45 minutes. He said that should he be elected, should his party win, and should he become prime minister or occupy a leading position, he would do everything to settle relations with Hungary. He said he wanted good relations with us, to settle and clarify the disputed issues, he would be a partner to sign the treaty with the conditions and stipulations that are being discussed. As to what will happen after the elections if Meciar does indeed win—well, the way he spoke about these things was promising for me but of course the reality might turn out to be different. [passage omitted]

However, one thing I regret is that the issue of relations with the Hungarians received such a big role, that it plays such an exaggeratedly big role in the Slovak election campaign. I wish that it will not be the hard-line nationalist circles that enjoy quite an influence and who reject almost every Hungarian demand who will win the Slovak elections. However, let me add that most Slovak parties

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agree over these issues [Hungarian minority rights and autonomy], and it would be a good thing if it were not the case.

[Correspondent] Indeed, recently, assimilation endeavors have strengthened in Slovakia and the press there again reports plans for the introduction of bilingual schools in the education network despite earlier promises to the contrary.

[Horn] Yes. There is progress in some issues and backward steps in others now because of the election campaign. This is why I say that for the time being we should discern what is a campaign trick and not a concrete step.

However, we should agree on what the biggest issue is, the one that is used against the Hungarians in the Slovak election campaign—the issue of Hungarian autonomy. It is really the issue that no Slovak party wants even to hear about, never mind consider. [passage omitted] It may be called self-determination [oenrendelkezes] or autonomy, but the fact is that individual rights may be asserted only in communities. I cannot even understand—let alone accept—why states or politicians who are moving toward Europe, who wish to be admitted in the EU and other organizations of European integration, fail to accept as a basis the practices that have already become embedded in these Western states and organizations: for example, the autonomy of communities, including cultural autonomy or autonomy in public administration.

It really is—may I say—an unacceptable state of affairs that in places where the minority constitutes an overwhelming majority they are not in a situation in accordance with this and have no matching role in public administration. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You have mentioned Romania, and it seems that the key issue in solving Hungarian-Romanian tension is likewise the conclusion of the basic treaty, although I think the document will not settle every problem. To this relates the question put to you by Bela Marko, chairman of the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania]:

[Begin Marko recording] It is common knowledge that at this moment we have to struggle, unfortunately, not so much for the completion of our education network, but against its truncation. It is common knowledge that our media, our system of cultural institutions, could at any time become even more truncated on account of budgetary problems. It is common knowledge that in the framework of the haphazard privatization process the Hungarians of Romania face strong discrimination. [passage omitted] What I would ask the prime minister is this: Apart from the basic treaty, and apart from carrying through the process leading eventually to the basic treaty, what means does the new Hungarian Government see, and what means does it wish to use in order to contribute in some way to changing the situation of the Hungarians of Transylvania? [end recording]

[Horn] I would like to correct the opinions connected with the basic treaty; at least, I would like to append my own opinion: I do not make a fetish of the basic treaty. There is no question of my expecting or hoping for some kind of salvation from this. It is not that. The basic treaty, too, is a means to an end. Naturally, many people rightly ask: But what if the sides do not stick to it, what then? Because this has been the fate of a good many treaties in the past. But at the same time, it is an important tool because it lays down certain basic principles, such as in connection with the borders and the minorities, but also in connection with other issues. The basic treaty is the thing upon which we would like to build the network of agreements on those issues, precisely that which Bela Marko also talked about.

Cooperation is necessary in the field of education, in which we would place explicitly great emphasis on the improvement of the condition of education of the Hungarian community there. [passage omitted]

I would also like to underline that I consider extremely important the settling of the border crossing stations, the ratification of the agreements on investment protection, and the avoidance of dual taxation, which is shortly to come before the Hungarian parliament. I could go on. [passage omitted]

But let me add one other thing: Even in Romania they invite a lot of tenders with the support of a large variety of international finance and other organizations. I feel that in this area it would be no bad thing if the organizations, groups of the Hungarian community showed greater activity. That is to say, that they should take part in these tenders, exploit those frameworks, for example, which are provided by the various state institutions in the areas of education, culture, public education, and others. These do not represent salvation either, but at all events they ease the situation.

So, we should try to think together and act together, both in interstate relations and within the national frameworks.

[Correspondent] You mentioned just now, and in any case you have stated that the basic treaty is not an end but a means.

[Horn] A means.

[Correspondent] Now then, if the treaty is not a simple act but if we regard it as a process, then could you, Mr. Prime Minister, imagine the treaty being concluded for the shortest possible period—let us say for two or three years—and that it would only be extended if the parties to the treaty fulfilled the commitments they had undertaken?

[Horn] Look, deadlines and dates are not a key issue. Generally, treaties like this are not concluded for two to three years but for much longer periods, 15, 20 years....

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[Correspondent, interrupting] Yes, but what is the guarantee that they will keep to what is contained in the basic treaty?

[Horn] One can look for guarantees here as well; this is an interesting point, but it is not certain that it would represent a solution. So, a little bit on the pattern of the Ukrainian-Hungarian basic treaty it would be worth—and we are dealing with this—laying down the guaranteeing of the rights of the minorities in a separate agreement. For my own part, I would by no means be opposed to a kind of solution whereby we would involve in the signing of this agreement, let us say, the Council of Europe, or the CSCE's chief commissioner for minority affairs and his colleagues, so that we might ensure for it as if it were international guarantees or international mediation.

Perhaps this would mean much greater weight, mainly from the moral side, than if we did it only on a bilateral basis. To say nothing of the fact that this kind of bilateral agreement on national minorities would not be an easy thing to carry out in Romania, no matter what good intentions they approach it with. So, it is not a matter of indifference who—apart from the politicians of the two states—support agreements of this kind.

So, there are several kinds of solution here. The stock-taking is beginning now, or rather it is already under way, and after that—or within this framework—the agreements will be put on the table.

[Correspondent] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu was here, was he not, last week, and both Romanian and Hungarian diplomacy evaluated it as an important step in the strengthening of trust. Now, in Bucharest in recent days, statements and formulations have been enunciated in an entirely different kind of tone. Here for example is an absolutely fresh report—it was published 24 hours ago by the news agencies: The Romanian Army has secret plans in respect to how it should respond to the possibly violent manifestations of national minorities. This was stated—according to the report on Saturday, 17 September, in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, the Bucharest paper THE DAY—by Mircea Pascu, the Romanian state secretary for national defense.

[Horn] Yes, I think this serves mood-incitement, the purpose of mood-incitement. Quite simply this is what it is about: The Hungarians have openly said that they, and that includes the HDUR, would avail themselves of extraparliamentary means as well, if, for example, they do not manage in parliament to achieve a change in, let us say, the education, the public education, bill. I would like to add that the foreign minister promised that they would do all they could in the interest of amending this draft. Well, life will show whether they have done everything or not.

But when an organization such as the HDUR announces this, then it is not secret plans that should be prepared. Because, come on, when has it ever happened in Romania that the Hungarians there, or their organizations, carried out any kind of violent act, or used any kind of force? This, this, [laughs] this sort of thing has not happened, and that is why I have to say that weaving or preparing such secret plans, against, let us say a street demonstration or group of demonstrators, is an anti-democratic method, to put it mildly.

[Correspondent] In your view, what might have motivated this statement by the Romanian state secretary?

[Horn] With all certainty it was that there are a lot, there is a good number, of those in Romania, among the Romanian politicians, who feel that it pays to frighten people with this kind of thing, to incite a mood with this kind of thing. I trust very much that the Romanian Government, the Romanian leadership, will take a stance vis-a-vis these.

[Correspondent] Should we take this statement as a threat?

[Horn] I trust that it is not a threat, and that after all it is an isolated, personal statement. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Peter Boltz from Wiesbaden asks: Since the change of government, how far have your hopes been realized in connection with the hoped-for aid from Germany?

[Horn] Germany and the German Government have helped us a great deal in the course of the past years. What is more, I am of the view that in the past four years perhaps it would have been possible to achieve even more in the form of support, if we had formulated in a concrete, or more concrete, manner those projects of ours and other planned undertakings of ours in which we would have counted on German participation.

Now there is a period, on account of the German election campaign, such that we will be able to hold a discussion with the new government after 16 October. Last time when I was there in July, in Bonn, we agreed on a whole series of things with Chancellor Kohl, which is very important in connection with the EU, with bilateral relations, with the larger loans to be provided by the EU.

Also, let me say one more thing: In actual fact we are not talking here about aid. Because if we are able to agree on a whole series of things, that is at least as useful for Germany, too, as it is for us. Here it is rather a question of an asymmetric cooperation, where they would give us an advance on a number of large undertakings, investments—mainly in the area of infrastructure and other economic spheres—whose profit we will then jointly share.

[Correspondent] The other question put by our viewer in Wiesbaden is what would you do if you were the German chancellor. How would you help the Hungarians?

[Horn] I think there should be a continuation of the process that was urged and pursued with particular vigor

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on the German side in the second half of the 1980's. There would not be a need for any great, extraordinary step. But I promise that when I next meet the future chancellor, I will then tell him what I would do in the interest of Hungary in his case, in his place.

[Correspondent] Questions are put to you from Switzerland and Sweden.

[Begin Pal Benczedi recording, chairman of the Federation of Hungarian Associations in Switzerland, from Geneva—identified by caption] I would like to ask Mr. Prime Minister whether there is any guarantee that DUNA Television can remain in its current form, that is to say a source of culture and information that is of national sentiment and of a high standard; and that it will not be changed into a platform for cheap, crass serials? [end recording]

[Horn] There is a guarantee. Naturally, there is a guarantee. The government has no intention whatsoever to touch or interfere with the life of DUNA Television. We also consider as very, extremely important the role that DUNA Television fills, and in my view this has to be continued. Whether they might want to modernize the program policy or the program structure, that is a matter only for the staff members, the leaders, of DUNA Television.

[Correspondent] Yes, Mr. Prime Minister, it is just that DUNA Television has ever since its inception been struggling, wrestling, with financial problems. So, this promise on your part, that it will remain independent, does this mean that our financial problems will cease?

[Horn] Look, with the other television stations, with Channels 1 and 2, we also discussed that we should review the situation. They are now working hard on it. Well, it is common knowledge that TV1 and TV2 are struggling with enormous losses of more than 2 billion forints. Unfortunately, the losses grow month by month. So, there has to be a liquidation, from this point of view, the debts have to be liquidated. At the same time it needs to be examined what can be simplified. After all, forgive me, in not many Western states is there an example of a television station operating with a workforce five to six times what [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] That is to say Hungarian Television, Hungarian Television.

[Horn] Hungarian Television. With a five- to six-fold workforce. If I am right, the number of staff members at TV1 and TV2 is more than 3,600.

[Correspondent] We at DUNA TV on the other hand number only 250.

[Horn] Yes, yes. Their numbers will probably be enough even if they are a good deal fewer than this, and then they will not produce such great losses. I am ready to hold discussions also with DUNA Television's staff members, to examine what problems and difficulties they have; and if we can, we will help to overcome them. But nobody wants to harm DUNA Television. I would like to make that clear. At least, from the government's part.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Horn Admits Privatization 'Lawful,' 'Unethical'

LD1909103094 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Excerpts] It is unnecessary for certain parties to worry about the [prime minister's] parliamentary speech which is due in one week's time, said Prime Minister Gyula Horn in an interview with the "Daybreak" program:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Can we expect that more than a dozen major corruption affairs will be exposed in the prime minister's speech? If we can, could this affect any parliamentary party and its prominent figures, we asked the prime minister.

[Horn] At our request, the government commissioner who set up the new organization [for investigating privatization cases] launched this investigation which concerns privatization deals concluded between 1 April and 15 June 1994. This is one thing.

The other thing I want to underscore—and this is something we already said during the election campaign, and it is the reply I want to give to some skeptical reactions to the investigations—is that we did not doubt that in the majority of cases no unlawful steps were taken. In fact virtually all of them—with the exception of some kind of tiny irregularities—were lawful. However, they were deeply immoral and unethical. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that the entire privatization process contributed to the establishment of a clientele system: to helping friends, relatives, and others to acquire property. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Spokesman Explains Stand on Haiti Participation

LD1609143194 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] President Lech Walesa's spokesman, Leszek Spalinski, did not rule out the possibility that Polish soldiers could participate in an operation of restoring democracy in Haiti. Let us remind you that U.S. President Bill Clinton announced such participation in a speech this morning. Presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski said that presidents Lech Walesa and Bill Clinton had recently discussed the issue.

[Begin recording] [Spalinski] During the conversation the initial scope of Poland's participation in the UN operation was decided. I remind you that it would be limited to police force and administration training, and involvement in the supervision or, let us say, observation of free elections in Haiti. However, there is an important issue. The president had some doubts—maybe doubts is too strong a word. As a Nobel prize winner, well, it is difficult for him to take part in a military operation. Hence this proposal of this form of assistance operations. Also—which is not without significance in our country—let us remember that during the Napoleonic wars Poles captured a part of that island....

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] San Domingo.

[Spalinski] Yes, that's it. This was perceived as the use of Polish soldiers for reasons that were not necessarily the most appropriate for us. Such things are remembered. That is why there is this option not to participate directly but to assist. This is also connected with the fact that it is the implementation of a UN Security Council resolution. This is the most important argument.

In this conversation President Lech Walesa also said that it would be easier for us to take part in this kind of operation if we were a member of NATO. That seems to be quite obvious.

[Correspondent] Well, in any case, President Lech Walesa expressed a kind of political willingness to take part in this operation?

[Spalinski] Oh, yes, of course, indeed. [end recording]

Walesa Notes Significance of Joint Exercises

LD1609213594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1918 GMT 16 Sep 94

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Sep—On the 16th of this month, Polish President Lech Walesa visited the soldiers taking part in the exercises under the name of "Cooperative Bridge '94" exercises in the framework of "Partnership for Peace", the press office of the Polish president has reported.

In a speech at the site, the Polish president said:

"A part of the joint training by NATO forces and the armies of states seeking to join NATO, and participating in the "Partnership for Peace" program has ended. This undertaking, under the name "Cooperative Bridge '94", is an expression of new thinking about matters of European security. A new approach to problems of political and military cooperation on our continent. It is at the same time proof that the "Partnership for Peace" program is acquiring a real and practical shape.

As president of the Polish Republic and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, I express particular satisfaction at the fact that the exercises could take place in Poland. I wish to stress the historical significance of this event. For the first time the soldiers of armies that until recently, through the will of Yalta, belonged to opposing political-military blocs have met on joint exercises. This constitutes a good prognosis for the future and is an important step in the construction of mutual trust. In the creation of a new, Europe-wide system of security, Poland is interested in the successful and fast development of this process. In the past we have frequently experienced the tragedies that war brings. We can thus fully appreciate the value of peace.

At the threshold of the 21st century, Europe stands before a historic opportunity. The period of Cold War is over. Together with this, the period of confrontation has receded into the past. The era of partnership and cooperation has begun. Our continent can and ought to unify itself. We are seeking opportunities for dialogue and accord, with the aim of unification. We are building bridges. We desire a single Europe. Without a "gray zone" and a "no-mans' land". Only such a Europe will assure its' peoples a secure and stable existence. Poland and the countries of Central Europe have entered onto the democratic road. For several years now we are carrying through deep economic and systemic transformations. Our aim is to join-up with European economic, military, and political structures. The construction of an integrated Europe. One that is developed and secure.

For peace on our continent has not been given once and for all. Constant vigilance is required for it to be maintained. Justification for such behavior is confirmed by the conflicts and threats that are appearing. They can only be counteracted together—by together building a new European security order.

We acknowledge the role that the countries of Western Europe play in this process. We value the significance of and the need for the military presence of the United States on our continent. This is a condition that is indispensable for the maintenance of stability and security in our part of the world. We treat NATO as the main guarantor of peace.

Thus our tendency is toward integration with the West and toward membership of NATO. We expect understanding and support for these efforts of ours on the part of our partners belonging to the North Atlantic Alliance. We judged that this integration would ensue more

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quickly, that after the fall of communism we would get by without transition periods and a long apprenticeship. Meanwhile, our road to NATO is being extended. It is still not clear when we will become full members of the North Atlantic Alliance, when the NATO security system will include our countries. The situation of the states of Central Europe is still unclear. A clear move is necessary, concrete decisions. This is dictated not by common sense alone but also by a feeling of responsibility for the fate of Europe.

Poland is a signatory of the "Partnership for Peace" program. We support the idea of this alliance. We, however, feel that "partnership" cannot be an aim just in itself. Our proper and final aim is full membership in NATO structures.

The military exercises ending today have shown that the cooperation of our armies is possible. Despite differences in armaments and in military technique, soldiers and staff understand each other well. They fulfill without errors the tasks set them. This was the best practical examination of their abilities and training. They passed this exam with flying colors. I judge that this is a good prognosis for the future. That the next, similar undertaking will be equally successful and will contribute to a still better familiarization of soldiers and their commanders, and that politicians will draw the appropriate conclusions and accelerate their activities. I congratulate the participants of the exercises for the results achieved. I thank them for their efforts and great commitment. I wish all of them good health and success, in military service and in their personal lives. I also direct words of congratulation to those who participated in the preparation, organization, and implementation of this undertaking.

I am convinced that the experience gained here during the course of the joint exercises will well serve the ideal of the recently contracted "Partnership for Peace" covenant. This contributes to the strengthening and widening of European security. They will become a true "bridge of cooperation" between our armies. A bridge leading toward a secure future. Soldiers, I regard the exercises as ended," stated Lech Walesa.

Romania's Tinca Comments

AU1609185894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Report by Nicu Popescu from Poznan]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, the first multinational military exercise within the Partnership for Peace [PFP], which took place at the Biedrusko Training Center near Poznan, Poland, concluded this afternoon, around 1710 hours Bucharest time [1410 GMT]. The official closing ceremony took place on the Biedrusko stadium, in the presence of Polish President Lech Valesa, high-ranking NATO officials, and countless figures from the NATO member countries and cooperation partner states. Our country was represented by Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, minister of national defense. On this occasion, he also conducted talks with his Polish counterpart, Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

At the end of his 24-hour presence in Poland, Mr. Gheorghe Tinca said the following in reference to the Romanian participation in the military exercises Cooperative Bridge '94 and to the development of the bilateral Romanian-Polish relations:

[Begin Tinca recording] Regarding Romanian participation, the opinions of the NATO officials, as well as those of the Polish and other military units participating, about the behavior of the Romanian soldiers is very good. Of course, I feel somehow flattered about this. But I am convinced that we can do more. There are many details that should be clarified and settled. However, our overall participation has been positively valued. Regarding the bilateral relations between the Polish and Romanian Armies, they are very good and I am convinced that this cooperation will be intensified along practical and concrete lines in the coming year. I am more than certain that the Polish and our soldiers will participate in other joint exercises within the PFP.

[Popescu] Therefore, this week has had two important moments for our country within the PFP: one, [words indistinct] last Wednesday, and the whole week of the Romanian platoon's participation in the Cooperative Bridge '94. I would like you to reflect on the political significance of these moments.

[Tinca] The political significance definitely resides in the seriousness and intensiveness of these concrete actions aimed at making headway along this evolutionary progress to Central European integration within the European and Euro-Atlantic political and military structures.

[Popescu] I would like to remark here that so far Romania and Poland are the only countries that have also presented their individual programs, which were approved by the Alliance.

[Tinca] I think that I have to make a correction here: The first was Poland, the second was Sweden, and the third was Romania, which presented individual programs within the PFP. It is only appropriate to make this correction.

[Popescu] I was referring to the countries of the former Warsaw Pact, therefore, to those in Central Europe.

[Tinca] Of course. In this respect, you are right. [end recording]

Sejm Speaker Discusses Ties With Kuwaitis

LD1909100794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0850 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Sep—Greeting a delegation from the Kuwaiti National Assembly headed by its speaker,

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Ahmad 'Abd al-'Aziz al- Sa'dun, in the Sejm on 19 September, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy said that Polish-Kuwaiti relations of 30 years standing are free of conflicts and there are no divergencies. He recalled that Poland supported Kuwait during the war with Iraq.

The three-day visit by the Kuwaiti guests, at the invitation of the Sejm speaker, is the first of its kind in Poland. "I hope this is the beginning of good cooperation," Oleksy said.

Opportunities for Polish companies to participate in the reconstruction of Kuwait, capital and banking cooperation, and also the need to sign bilateral agreements, including investment protection agreements, were discussed during the meeting between both parliamentary speakers.

Answering a question from Polish and Kuwaiti journalists about whether Poland is taking any steps to implement the UN Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq, the Sejm speaker said that Poland's position is the same as that of the Council and of Kuwait. "Iraq should resolve controversial issues such as borders and POWs. Iraq must meet the conditions imposed," the speaker added.

Walesa, Pawlak Discuss Presidential Ministries

WS1909102594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17-18 Sep 94 p 1

[Report by A.P.: "President With Prime Minister"]

[Text] The problem of giving status to the so-called presidential ministries is to be resolved quickly, decided President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak at a meeting on 16 September.

It was also decided that regular meetings between the president and the prime minister would be held on Mondays at 1100. Lech Walesa said that he hopes that "on the first possible Monday he will discuss with the prime minister the issue of filling the post of the police chief commandant; however, maybe everything will already be clear by then." Asked whether he really intends to withdraw his ministers, the president replied: "I always took into account various options, and at the beginning there was such an option as well; however, for the time being it is not being taken into consideration at all. Someone wanted to accelerate something." According to the television newscast "Panorama," the heads of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, National Defense, and Internal Affairs declared that they are ready to submit their resignations if the president demands this.

In the evening a working session of the government was organized, which, as the Government Press Office informed, was held "in the Constitutional group." The government discussed economic issues.

Official Clarifies Mass Privatization Program

MS1609141194 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 16 Sep 94 p 16

[Letter by Jerzy Thieme, chief adviser for the Mass Privatization Program of Polish Ministry of Privatization: "Poland's Privatisation Plans are Feasible"]

[Text] Sir, Ms Swiatkowski Cannon's Personal View (September 9), contained many misunderstandings and misrepresentations about Poland's mass privatisation programme (MPP).

As an adviser to successive Polish governments in helping to establish and implement the programme, I would like to put the record straight. The author argues that the programme is centralised and bureaucratic. Inevitably, governments are always involved in the early stages of privatisation as it is state assets which are being disposed.

The approach we have evolved is to give substantial responsibility for the actual restructuring of companies in the programme to national investment funds (NIFs). They will have substantial autonomy, operating at arm's length from the government, deciding how best to restructure the companies under their managements prior to public flotation. These funds will be managed by qualified professional firms, selected after competitive tender. Quality investment banks, fund managers and consulting firms have already been shortlisted for this purpose.

Several international institutions—European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Bank, British Know-How Fund and the European Union—support the programme through the provision of funding and technical assistance. Maybe this is a minor point but it shows the confidence which the international community has in the privatisation programme.

The author says that the programme is too limited, in that only some 400 companies are intended to be covered by the programme. Again this misunderstands the position. The MPP is only one element of a multi-track approach to Polish privatisation. The principal objective within the MPP is that the companies included should have the potential after restructunng to be strong and viable, with good growth prospects. We have to date identified about 400 such companies.

The suggestion that the programme cannot satisfy popular demand for equity and participation in reforms is also not true. Potentially, all 27 million adult Polish citizens will be able to participate in the programme, acquiring, for a small registration fee, a security which is likely to have a substantial market value, and will be traded on the Warsaw Stock Exchange—one of the best regulated stock exchanges in Europe.

We are sure that the MPP specifically meets the need for mass participation in the restructuring of Polish enterprises and, regardless of the political environment, is feasible.

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Privatization of Foreign Trade Entities Described

94EP0088B Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 17 Aug 94 p 4

[Article by U.K.: "Privatization of Foreign Trade: The Plan Is Nearly Complete"]

[Text] The privatization of foreign trade entities is supposed to bring 400 billion zlotys [Z] into the State Treasury in 1994. Thus far, receipts from this source have already totaled Z220 billion. This is almost twice the total income from privatization in foreign trade in 1993 (approximately Z144 billion)—Krzysztof Zielinski, director of the Office of Founding and Capital Oversight and Privatization of Foreign Trade Entities in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, reported to NOWA EUROPA.

Thus far, 50 percent of all state enterprises in foreign trade have been privatized. Eleven of the 52 commercial law companies have been transformed with capital input, or 21.2 percent. Three public sales of state treasury stocks of Elektrim SA, Export Development Bank SA, and Universal SA have been successfully completed.

"We have now completed the sale of the stock of Agros Holding, which will give the state treasury Z160 billion. Probably this year we will be able to sell part of our shares in Centrozap. Essentially, therefore, at this time the plan of receipts from privatization has been completed, especially since there are still receipts coming from lease payments in some Polcargo enterprises, amounting to several billion zlotys," director Zielinski said.

But he added that despite large expectations on our part, foreign capital is showing little interest in participating in the privatization of this branch of the economy. In practice, too, we see no great interest on the part of important foreign investors in the purchase of foreign trade company stocks. The exception is one firm—the Swiss-Swedish ABB concern. It is not certain, therefore, that the privatization processes begun in other companies will be finalized this year.

Sales of shares in Paged have already been completed, and sales of state treasury shares in Polmot are in progress.

At present the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation is holding talks regarding shares of state treasury stocks in such companies as Budimex Trading and Polimex-Cekop. The latter has attracted much interest from investors.

At the same time, ownership transformations are being made in other foreign trade entities. They cover 41.7 percent of all of these enterprises, of which 24.4 percent have been privatized.

In the first half of this year, in addition to the sale of state treasury stocks in Agros Holding, privatization of the firm Patpol was begun. Transformation of such companies as Animex, Agromet-Motoimport, Bumar, and Budimex Engineering & Construction into stock companies has also been initiated. State treasury stocks are to be sold through a public offering.

During this half-year, the courts announced the bankruptcy of the following companies: Tricot, Torimex, and Eximpol. However, two companies may be able to avoid this: Textilimpex, which has entered into a bank agreement with Bank of Commerce [BH], and Balton, which is conducting agreement proceedings with BH in Luxembourg.

The following companies are preparing for a transformation process: Navimor, Mark-Exim, Impexmetal, Polservice, Inter-Vis, and Polimex-Cekop. The ministry appointed a committee on privatization affairs and has started to make preprivatization examinations of Impexmetal's main offices. But in this case the privatization process will be completed by the minister of privatization.

But director Zielinski calls attention to the fact that privatization of foreign trade consists primarily of the formation of new companies and private enterprises, generally small, which increasingly focus their interest on foreign trade exchange. This is called "founding privatization."

The ownership transformations of Stalexport and Rolimpex are a separate subject. The preparatory process in the case of these companies went on for two years (beginning in 1991). Two weeks before leaving the cabinet, Minister Andrzej Arendarski transferred his prerogatives in this araea to the minister of privatization. Such quick action by his predecessor aroused some doubts in Minister Podkanski, who asked the Supreme Board of Inspection [NIK] to investigate the matter. But at the moment the postinspection conclusions of NIK are not yet known.

[Box, p 4]

Reasons for Slowdown in Privatization Processes in Foreign Trade Enterprises

- Only a small number of entities can be privatized (functioning as enterprises in the present structure) due to the fact that most of the moneys owed them are difficult to collect or are uncollectable.
- The complicated ownership structure of commercial law companies; in most cases foreign trade entities are commercial law companies, i.e., limited-liability companies and stock companies, where the shareholders (stockholders), apart from the state treasury, are most often state enterprises. This legal form means it is necessary to conduct a more complicated privatization procedure, adapted to the situation of the sector.
- Some of the entities are involved in purchase and sales of strategic commodities. The decision to privatize them may be made only after the basic directions

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of restructurization of the individual industrial sectors (petroleum sector, nonferrous metals, strategic raw materials, and so forth) are defined, and the role of the state treasury and other government departments in the future ownership structure of the sector is defined.

Reprivatization Efforts Throughout Eastern Europe

94EP0088A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 97, 13 Aug 94 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Reprivatization in East-Central Europe"]

[Text] *The problem of reprivatization has emerged in all countries of East-Central Europe that are moving to a market economy. Below we describe the solutions applied by some them.*

In **Bulgaria** separate laws have been passed applying to the reprivatization of various categories of nationalized property. Agricultural real property has been treated differently, small enterprises differently, and still other solutions have been applied to large industrial plants, church property, and property belonging to Turkish nationals. The implementation of these laws turned out to be much more difficult than the planners had assumed, for many reasons.

First of all, the number of claims submitted exceeded all predictions. It need only be said that the number of agricultural real properties slated for reprivatization reaches a million. Taking into consideration that usually several heirs of the former owner have a right to this property, the number of persons standing to gain from reprivatization is estimated at four million.

In addition, some of the accepted solutions turned out to be unfeasible. For example, reprivatization of urban real property consisted simply of annulling nationalization laws. This was intended to bring about a restoration of the ownership relations that existed before nationalization. In reality, it served to block reprivatization, because during the period of over 40 years third persons obtained the right to the property that had been taken. Because of this, scarcely 3 percent of the urban real property has thus far been returned to the former owners or their heirs.

The **Czech Republic** and **Slovakia**, while still a joint state, passed four reprivatization laws. Here, too, separate solutions were applied in relation to agricultural real property and church assets. However, the remaining cases of nationalization were covered by a uniform reprivatization statute. It was a relatively broad law, for reprivatization covers all cases of property taken during 1948-50 in a way that was not in accord with the principles of democracy. But it should be stressed that reprivatization applies only to property of citizens who permanently reside on the territories of that country. All applications for reprivatization had to be submitted before the end of 1992. Approximately 300,000 such applications were filed.

Reprivatization in the Czech Republic and Slovakia takes place by way of a settlement between the former owner and the present user of the property. This settlement consists of a return of the property in kind, with the stipulation that the present user must be allowed to rent the property for a period of 10 years. If return in kind is not possible, monetary recompensation enters the picture, under which sums up to 30,000 korunas are paid in cash and any amount over that is paid in interest-bearing bonds redeemable after 10 years. If a settlement cannot be arrived at, the former owner can seek recourse in court.

In **Latvia** too, reprivatization problems have been regulated by several separate laws, but these must be constantly supplemented. It should be mentioned, however, that the Latvian solutions are to a large extent similar to what is being proposed in Poland. We are referring particularly to forms of compensation: return in kind, award of shares of stock (if a nationalized enterprise was later privatized), award of replacement real property or damages in the form of reprivatization certificates. The basic difference lies in the amount of time allowed for submitting applications. The Latvian lawmakers decided to spread out the deadlines over time: In some cases the deadline does not expire until the year 2002. That is why it is difficult at this time to say how large the scale of reprivatization in this country will be.

In eastern **Germany**, in solving the problem of reprivatization the main consideration was the economy. Compensation for the wrongs committed by the communist regime was regarded as secondary. In addition, there is no legal possibility of reprivatizing assets nationalized during the Soviet occupation (1945-49) because the unification treaty contains a clause that petrifies these ownership transformations. That is why reprivatization in eastern Germany has a restricted character.

Despite these restrictions, over a million applications have been submitted for return of real property and approximately 10,000 pertaining to the recovery of enterprises. But only those buildings are subject to return in kind for which no attractive investors could be found. Hence we have the problem of how to finance the monetary compensations for the remaining entitled persons.

A draft law now being discussed in the Bundestag provides for the assessment of a special tax on those persons to whom property was returned. The receipts from this, together with the receipts from privatization, are to be allocated for the recompensation of persons whose property was not returned to them.

Reprivatization in **Hungary** applies only to physical persons and consists of awarding reprivatization certificates. The amounts due are calculated according to a

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degressive scale and cannot exceed five million forints for each applicant. Reprivatization certificates bear interest: They can be used to purchase privatized enterprises, arable land, houses, or exchanged for life-time annuities.

In this country too, the actual scale of reprivatization turned out to be much larger than had been envisaged. The period for filing applications expired at the end of 1991. Approximately 800,000 applications were filed, the value of which (after taking degression into account) is estimated at 50 billion forints. Although 4,000 people have been employed to investigate the applicatons, some cases are still not settled.

No reprivatization law has yet been passed in **Croatia**, but the draft of such a law has been prepared. It provides for three forms of compensation: return in kind, award of replacement property, or award of monetary damages (in cash or in the form of tax relief).

By mid-1993 the Croatian authorities recorded about 2,000 reprivatization claims pertaining to commercial enterprises. Approximately 20,000 claims were received regarding urban real estate, and 50,000 regarding recovery of agricultural real property.

As we see, in all of the countries discussed (with the exception of war-affected Croatia), the reprivatization process is continuing, and insofar as Hungry is concerned, is nearly complete. **Poland** still must tread this road. The experiences of the other countries may be helpful to it, but certainly this experience cannot be simply copied. The economic system in Poland was very peculiar to it, as was shown by the retention of private ownership of farms and the granting of legal-entity status to state enterprises.

Budget Strategy Facing 'Uphill Struggle'

MM1909101594 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 7 Sep 94 p 1

[Article by "WW": "All Uphill Now for Kolodko: Government Amendments to Strategy for Poland..."]

[Text] Warsaw—The translation of the "Strategy for Poland" program into articles of the law requires the preparation and promulgation of 14 parliamentary acts. Trouble has already started at the government level and is the result of differences of opinion concerning the document. The more sharp-tongued commentators have even been heard saying that it will all be an "uphill struggle" for [Finance Minister] Kolodko now.

After a long and embattled discussion, a compromise formula was adopted for the shape of the wages fund in the state's budget sector. The majority of government members declared in favor of a final liquidation of the automatic index-linking measure, which was never put into practice. A working draft of the proposed act—which is scheduled for completion in mid-September—was accepted with numerous reservations.

It was announced that as a result of the application of the proposed formulas teachers, doctors, and other professionals in this budget sector will gain insofar as the level of their real wages will not decrease. The amount of money available for their salaries is supposed to be decided each year in the budget act, according to the average pay levels negotiated by the Tripartite Commission and the statutory number of posts for the sector.

The Council of Ministers has ordered the Central Planning Administration to prepare a document illustrating the expected financial results of the contemplated change in the principles for upgrading age and disability pensions. Only after that will a decision be taken on the advisability of upgrading these pensions according to the prices index, as suggested by Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko.

It was decided that the possible change in the upgrading principles—from linkage to the wages index to linkage to the prices index—will not be put into operation before 1 January 1996.

Gdynia Prosecutor on Increased Drug Smuggling

MM1609143994 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 6 Sep 94 p 3

[Interview with Gdynia Regional Prosecutor Janusz Kaczmarek by Roman Daszczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Daszczynski] The disclosure in Gdynia several days ago of the discovery of 150 kg of smuggled marijuana seems to confirm the observation that the Tri-City [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] has definitely been adopted as an important point on one of the major narcotics smuggling routes leading from South America and Africa to Central Europe. As a person familiar professionally with the ins and outs of investigating these affairs, do you share that opinion?

[Kaczmarek] Indeed, Poland in general, and the Tri-City in particular have become important transit points for the international narcotics mafia. It is, in part, the consequence of the opening of our borders and the abolition of both entry visas and penal measures for the possession of narcotics. For Poland it is also an indirect result of the war in Yugoslavia, because after the loss of the so-called Balkan route, the mafia found alternative routes for its trade in narcotics. While in 1989-1992 narcotic substances discovered by Polish customs services ran into grams or kilograms, last year they were already measured in tonnes. In addition, the number of detected attempts at smuggling narcotics also increased, which is probably the result of improved effectiveness in the work of our customs and special services.

[Daszczynski] But credit for the improved effectiveness cannot be ascribed solely to the Polish side. It is simply that international narcotics services notify us well in

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advance that there will be an attempted narcotics "transfer." Apparently that was also the case with the latest discovery of the attempt to smuggle marijuana through Gdynia, was it not?

[Kaczmarek] It was, but we must also remember that international cooperation in this field is already the norm throughout the world. No one has yet invented a more efficient method of combating the international narcotics trade.

[Daszczynski] In January this year a contraband consignment of nearly 500 kg of cocaine was discovered in the Gdynia port. In April Polish and British services intercepted between them a total of 2 tonnes of cocaine which was also being shipped to Gdynia. According to some commentators, these and similar attempts to carry out large-scale smuggling operations indicate that the narcotics mafias do not have a particularly high opinion of the abilities of the Tri-City customs services.

[Kaczmarek] It is obvious that the Western customs services have had much more practice and more extensive experience in combating narcotics smuggling operations, and they also have larger funds earmarked for fighting the "narcotics plague," as Americans have dubbed it. It is to be expected that these are the reasons why such large consignments of cocaine, heroin, or marijuana are directed to be transported across Poland. Incidentally, this view is confirmed by additional information according to which our country is not merely a part of the narcotics transit route. A consumer market for narcotics is rapidly developing in Poland right now, and its main customers are young people.

[Daszczynski] What is the source of this information?

[Kaczmarek] There are many sources. Some information comes from the Polish Border Services and the State Protection Office [UOP], but in this case the most important data reach us from the Regional Center for Customs Intelligence Liaison Officers, known as RILO, and also from the American Drug Enforcement Agency. Representatives of the latter organization recently paid a visit to the Gdynia Prosecutor's Office, and I believe that our plans for mutual cooperation should begin to bear fruit before very long.

[Daszczynski] But full cooperation will not be possible here because of the inadequacies of Polish legislation. Even if you stop a man in the street with a suitcase full of narcotics, you still can do practically nothing about it because possession of narcotics is legal in Poland.

[Kaczmarek] The current policy of the Justice Ministry is aimed at changing this state of affairs. The ministry is hoping to secure the introduction of legislation that will make the mere fact of possession of narcotics a punishable criminal offense. To this end—among other things—we set up an interdepartmental group for coordination of control over intoxicating and psychotropic substances.

[Daszczynski] For many years narcotics represented a rather marginal sphere in the life of Polish society. In your opinion, has there really been a significant increase recently in the danger involved in the use of narcotics, or are you simply being cautious in anticipation of a possible "narcotics explosion"?

[Kaczmarek] On the basis of the data available in the documents of the Gdynia Regional Prosecutor's Office, I can state confidently that a major consumer market for narcotics is beginning to develop here. It is no longer simply a case of a trade in derivatives of substances obtained from poppy haulm, but a market for heroin or cocaine, that is, narcotics which until recently were only seen in Poland in American films. And this is where our real problem starts—because these substances find their way mainly to school, college, and young people's circles. Recently the Gdynia Prosecutor's Office completed an investigation of two 20-year-olds who acted as middlemen in a narcotics sales ring at Rock-Buda and Nadmorski Boulevard in Gdynia and who did not complain of a lack of interested customers by officially bringing charges against them.

[Daszczynski] What sentence could they face for the offense of selling narcotics?

[Kaczmarek] Between one and 10 years in prison.

[Daszczynski] Do you believe that this kind of sentence can deter anyone from trading in narcotics?

[Kaczmarek] I believe that in this area our Polish legislation is sufficiently strict. The rest depends on the effectiveness of the work of the police services and—even if this sounds all too obvious—the extent of social awareness of the danger inherent in all forms of dealings with narcotics.

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PRM Chairman Tudor 'Condemns' Haiti Invasion

AU1609145694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Excerpts] At the opening of today's news conference at the Greater Romania Party [PRM] headquarters, party chairman Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor read out a communique, pointing out that the PRM decries the current sad state of Romanian education, the extremely poor salaries given to educators and teachers, in general, as well as the incredibly high price of school supplies for the schoolchildren. [passage omitted]

Second, the PRM draws the attention of internal and international public opinion to the extremely dangerous shift over recent weeks in the policy of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], beginning with the blocking of the archaeological excavations in Union Square in the city of Cluj-Napoca and the desecration of the Romanian military cemetery in the Uz River valley in Harghita County, culminating with the recent proposal requesting territorial autonomy for Transylvanian regions.

The PRM considers that all preconditions are met for the General Prosecution Service to begin applying the stipulations of the Constitution to outlaw that party established on ethnic criteria.

The communique then points out that, quote, the PRM condemns the invasion by which the United States is preparing to intervene in the internal affairs of the sovereign Haitian state, unquote.

HDUR Leader on Army Plans Against Minority

LD1809185094 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Yesterday we reported that Mircea Pascu, Romanian state secretary for national defense, told the Bucharest paper EVENIMENTUL ZILEI that the Army has to cope with violent manifestations and separatist actions by the national minorities. According to Mircea Pascu, it is useful to know that the Army has formulated certain secret plans; for this has a positive effect on the extremists. Tibor Bogdan reports on the developments:

[Begin recording] [Bogdan] Anxiety has been sparked off in the leading circles of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] by the latest statement of the state secretary of the Romanian Defense Ministry, to the effect that his institution and the Army have secret plans against possible demonstrations by the national minorities. HDUR Chairman Bela Marko, speaking to Hungarian Radio's reporter at noon today, sharply condemned this method of handling the nationality issue, whose only objective is threat and intimidation. He then went on to say:

[Marko] It is without parallel that at a time when the minorities are employing exclusively peaceful political means for the assertion of their objectives, a leader of the Defense Ministry talks about the Army's secret plans and holds out the prospect of an antiminority approach. The concept of wanting to use the Army for stifling either ethnic or political endeavors contradicts even the most elemental principles of legal statehood. The HDUR protests most resolutely against this concept, and we call on the Romanian government to clarify its standpoint connected with this, and to dissociate itself without any delay from the statement of State Secretary Mircea Pascu.

[Bogdan] Asked if the statement of the defense state secretary makes the signing of the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty more difficult, Bela Marko stated: In the present situation the best thing is to wait and see what attitude the Romanian Government will adopt to the statement by its own state secretary. [end recording]

Yugoslav Envoy Comments on Post-Embargo Future

AU1709155394 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Sep 94 p 1

[Interview with Desimir Jevtic, Yugoslavian ambassador to Bucharest, by Bogdan Chirieac; place and date not given: "The Day After the Embargo"]

[Text] This week, the UN Security Council will discuss the problem of lifting the embargo against Yugoslavia. All five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China—expressed their readiness to cast a favorable vote. The opening of the airports in Belgrade and Podgorica as well as allowing Yugoslavia to participate in cultural and sports activities are envisaged as first steps along this road. The new attitude of the Security Council is due to the fact that the Belgrade Government no longer supports the actions of the Bosnian Serbs, following the latter's rejection of the peace plan. The embargo against Yugoslavia has caused Romania losses of some $7 billion. Immediately after the embargo is lifted, the economic ties between our two countries should be resumed. Here is an interview about the way in which Yugoslavia is prepared to deal with this situation.

[Chirieac] Mr. Ambassador, how does Yugoslavia plan to resume its economic ties with Romania, after the embargo is lifted?

[Jevtic] Yugoslavia is well prepared for this eventuality, because we have had plenty of time to prepare for it. Many companies in Yugoslavia have concluded contracts with companies in Romania. The moment the embargo is lifted, these contracts will become operative. There are many spheres of activity targeted in these contracts. I am not going to give details about them here, so as not to give someone the idea of asking the United Nations to block them.

[Chirieac] What importance does Yugoslavia attach to political and economic relations with Romania?

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[Jevtic] I would like to state here that the excellent relations between the Romanians and Serbs are deeply rooted in history. We know that enormous pressure has been exerted upon Romania to strictly observe the embargo, something that did not happen with the other countries neighboring on Yugoslavia. We believe that Romania was deliberately turned against Serbia so as to spoil our traditional relations, which we consider very important. Until now, Romania has resisted such pressures and we believe that our spiritual links are even more important than the economic ones.

[Chirieac] What did the interruption of economic relations with Romania mean for Yugoslavia?

[Jevtic] Since 1989, the year of the revolution in your country, up to 1992, when the embargo against Yugoslavia was implemented, our economic relations had registered an extraordinary progress. Yugoslavia was Romania's third most important foreign partner, because of the compatibility of our economies. After the embargo is lifted, we believe that the Romanian economy can serve as a successful substitute for the economies of the republics that have pulled out of the former Yugoslavia. We estimate that the total volume of losses registered by our countries over the last three years amounts to $15 billion.

Interior Minister Outlines Public Order Law

AU1709155494 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 8 Sep 94 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Ioan Doru Taracila, by unidentified correspondent, upon conclusion of the scientific symposium on "The National Doctrine of Public Order;" place and date not given: "The Doctrine Is a Fundamental Law for Safeguarding the Peace of the People"]

[DIMINEATA] Mr. Minister, now that the symposium organized by the Ministry of Interior has concluded, we would like you to tell us whether you are satisfied with its proceedings and whether they have met your expectations.

[Taracila] I am happy that the symposium, on the whole, has fulfilled its purpose, namely that it occasioned an open discussion on the need to adopt a National Doctrine of Public Order. As you have surely noted, during the debates each participant could express the point of view of the body or institution he represented, as well as his personal opinions. Suggestions have been made to improve the presented draft, and now a team of experts will elaborate the final form of the draft bill, which will be forwarded for sanctioning to the Supreme Defense Council of the Country and subsequently to Parliament. Despite the fact that there were certain disputed issues in the draft that was initially presented during the symposium, one thing is certain—and I believe it is very important—namely that a first step has been made to seriously and responsibly discuss the necessity to have such a law, one that is fundamental to safeguarding the peace of the people.

[DIMINEATA] During the symposium we also heard remarks about the political contents of the doctrine. With respect to this, does the draft law also include elements of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] program in the area of safeguarding public order?

[Taracila] First I would like to emphasize the fact that our symposium did not have a political nature, as it was strictly confined to that special area. Of course, during the proceedings they also talked about politics, but that is an entirely different matter. As far as the PDSR program in this sphere is concerned, I can tell you that it follows the guidelines that were concretely formulated by the governing program of Prime Minister Vacaroiu, which, as is known, represents the strategy of the ruling party, that is, that of the PDSR.

[DIMINEATA] Taking into consideration the fact that this doctrine, together with the other laws referring to the various departments of the Ministry of Interior, and which are essential for the activity of your ministry, as well as safeguarding public order and peace, do you think that the doctrine should be a priority issue, or will we wait a long time until it is passed?

[Taracila] Taking into account the need to ensure the security of the population and public order, I find your fears totally justified, especially because crime has expanded over the past years, leading to the appearance of professionals on the scene, and this is increasingly worrying the citizens of our country. Precisely for that reason we will do everything we can to finalize the final form of the doctrine as soon as possible, and forward it to Parliament to be debated in an emergency session. Of course, it will surely suffer certain alterations when the two chambers discuss it, but I think that is natural—that is the way lawmakers are. Anyway, until the law is passed I would like to reassure the population of the country that the Ministry of Interior will do its duty in safeguarding public order.

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Serb Forces Hold 30 French UN Soldiers Hostage

AU1909103094 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 19 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces held some 30 French UN soldiers hostage at a UN weapons collection point Sunday, and used mortars held there to counter a Bosnian Army offensive north of Sarajevo, the United Nations said here Monday.

Serb troops placed mines around the French barracks at Poljine, north of Sarajevo, said Lt.-Colonel Tim Spicer, spokesman for the UN Protection Force.

The Serbs fired some 12 122mm rounds from the UN weapons collection point, which guards weapons impounded under the Sarajevo 20-kilometre (12.5-mile) heavy weapons exclusion zone agreement which came into force in February.

Soldiers Held 'Prisoner'

LD1909110194 Paris LCI Television in French 1030 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Tension is mounting by the hour in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

We have just learned that between 20 and 30 French peacekeeping troops have been taken hostage by the Bosnian Serb forces. The soldiers were guarding an artillery depot containing weapons confiscated from the Serbs. [passage omitted]

We now have the latest details from Jacques Charmelot, the AFP audio correspondent in Sarajevo:

[Charmelot] For the moment, the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has given very few details. We are talking about a platoon of French peacekeeping forces—in other words, between 25 and 30 men—who are at one of the collection points for heavy weapons which UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is holding all around Sarajevo. They have not been taken hostage, as you said, but are being held prisoner—there is a slight difference.

Yesterday, when the Serbs responded to a Bosnian attack, they used 120-mm mortars that were kept in this collection point and guarded by this French unit.

'Blockaded' Soldiers Freed

AU1909110694 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 19 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces on Monday allowed some 30 French UN soldiers to go free, UN and French military sources said.

Serb troops cleared mines and withdrew from a UN weapons collection point north of Sarajevo, where the French soldiers had been blockaded since Sunday, UN and French sources in Paris said.

UN spokesman Bernard Labarsouque said the French peacekeepers had never been held hostage but had been prevented from carrying out their mission as members of UNPROFOR (UN Proection Force).

UN Commander Threatens NATO Air Strikes

AU1809191494 Paris AFP in English 1851 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 18 (AFP)—UN Bosnia Commander Lt.-General Sir Michael Rose on Sunday [18 September] warned Bosnian Army and Serb forces to stop fighting around Sarajevo immediately or face NATO air strikes.

In a statement issued here he "warned both sides that if the fighting does not stop then he will take appropriate measures against both sides." UN Protection Force spokeswoman Claire Grimes confirmed that "ultimately that means air strikes."

The warning came after clashes late in the day northeast of the capital, the heaviest since a ceasefire accord was agreed for the Bosnian capital in February. [passage omitted]

Further on Rose's Warning

AU1809190894 Paris AFP in English 1835 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 18 (AFP)—The UN Bosnia commander on Sunday [18 September] warned the Bosnian Army and rebel Serb forces to halt fighting northeast of the capital, said a UN official, but UN sources blamed the Bosnian Army for starting the firefight.

General Sir Michael Rose threatened to take unspecified "measures" against both parties if the combatants did not stop fighting, said UN Protection Force spokeswoman Claire Grimes.

The clashes, which erupted late afternoon, were the heaviest since a cease-fire accord was agreed for the Bosnian capital in February. A 20-kilometre (12.5-mile) heavy weapons exclusion zone came into force around Sarajevo on February 20 after the cease-fire accord was signed. Both measures were agreed in the wake of the February 5 market massacre in the city in which 68 people died.

Earlier a UN military observer who asked not to be identified said the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army had sparked the battle with an offensive in the Grdonj area, a hill some two kilometres (a mile) north of Sarajevo's old quarter. At least 12 people, including three soldiers, were wounded in the fighting, according to hospital officials.

NATO Agrees to Air Support for UN in Bihac

LD1609183894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 16 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

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[Text] Zagreb, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—NATO command has agreed to provide air support to United Nations peacekeepers (UNPROFOR) around Bihac in western Bosnia, a U.N. official said Friday.

The official, who wished to remain anonymous, said NATO air support would be provided in case the Muslim town of Bihac came under artillery fire from neighboring Serb Krajina. He said a decision to that effect would probably be made by the United Nations Security Council.

As there have been no reports from UNPROFOR about artillery fire from the Krajina territory, the statement can be interpreted as a political move or pressure.

The official quoted U.N. Officer Col. Marc Rebhun as saying on Thursday that Krajina Serbs had stopped their artillery attack on Bihac, which is situated close to the border with Serb Krajina. Rebhun said the attack had been aimed at military targets, because Bosnian Muslims had deployed their artillery in the town.

Bosnian Muslims mounted an offensive against Bosnian Serb positions around Bihac in early September. UNPROFOR said the Serb side had responded to the assaults with the backing of Krajina troops.

Serbs in Croatia declared the independent republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 after Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation and removed the Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

Efforts To Open Sarajevo Gas Supply Fail

LD1709090494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Text] According to the latest information from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], all efforts so far to open the supply of gas for Sarajevo have proved unsuccessful because the aggressor is opposing this, although there are sufficient supplies of gas in the Zvornik-Sarajevo gas pipeline to meet all needs. We have been told by the Sarajevo Gas information Service that UNPROFOR has indicated that efforts will be continued to reestablish the supply of natural gas to Sarajevo.

Serbs Block UN Fuel Convoy Bound for Sarajevo

AU1609181494 Paris AFP in English 1740 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Report by Jon Boyle: "Serbs Tighten Noose on Sarajevo as Monitors Move to Frontiers"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sept 16 (AFP)—Sarajevo was Friday [16 September] without all three main utilities for the first time since December as Bosnian Serbs apparently moved to retaliate for EU monitoring of Belgrade sanctions against them.

Bosnian Minister without portfolio Hasan Muratovic accused the Serbs of blacking out the city from a key sub-station in the Serb-held Reljevo suburb of the capital, and charged they had "turned off the power at Vogosca" north of Sarajevo.

The Serbs were refusing to allow 260 tonnes of UN fuel at Kiseljak, 30 kilometres (18 miles) west of Sarajevo into the capital, UN Protection Force spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Labarsouque said. However UNPROFOR spokeswoman Claire Grimes said it was "much too early" to say whether the power and fuel shortages were linked to a threat by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to tighten the stranglehold on Moslem enclaves if Belgrade imposed economic sanctions against the rebel authorities.

The first of 135 Nordic observers were to start work Friday along the border between the rump Yugoslavia and Serb-held territories in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

UN fuel stocks in Sarajevo have plunged because of a Serb refusal to allow re-supply convoys through to the Bosnian capital, which was without electricity and water for the second straight day.

Meanwhile Labarsouque said UN fuel supplies were at a "very low level" as "no convoys are getting through from Kiseljak to Sarajevo because the Serbs are refusing them permission to pass." Low level was usually defined as enough fuel for 20 days normal operations, Labarsouque said.

UN officials visited rebel Serb headquarters in Pale Friday in a bid to secure agreement on repairs to the two main lines into the city, which have been down since late Wednesday, he said.

The lack of power has put out of action the Bacevo water pumping station, which supplies Sarajevo with 80 percent of its water.

William Eagleton, the UN coordinator for the restoration of essential services in Sarajevo, had contacted the Serbs over the utilities situation, Grimes said. "He has asked them to look into it. He called Pale to ask them that if there was someone tampering with the gas then it should cease," she said.

Labarsouque said UN officials hoped to secure Pale's agreement for teams to start repairs to war-damaged pylons Saturday, which could see power restored the same day. If Serb permission was not secured Friday Sarajevo would likely be without power and water over the weekend, he said.

The head of UN engineers in Sarajevo, Colonel Thierry Cambournac, said the main line into the city from the west had been cut by storm-damage between Jablanica and Kiseljak, and that although it had been repaired, problems at a sub-station outside the capital meant power could not be restored.

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A second line from the Serb-held district of Vogosca, north of Sarajevo, had been broken at two pylons near the confrontation line damaged by gunfire.

A member of Eagleton's team, who asked not to be identified, said the breaks were "definitely caused by shooting the transformers." UN officials here, however, were at pains not to point the finger of blame, noting both sides in the past had been guilty of such attacks.

Labarsouque for his part said a UN team had been sent to a gas supply station in the Serb-held Sarajevo suburb of Butila "to see what is going on," but declined to be more specific.

However, the Eagleton official said city gas supplies "seem to have been turned off by someone (...) but we don't know where."

Serbs Shell Sarajevo Lines, Residential Buildings

LD1809173094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] After a relatively quiet morning, this afternoon the chetniks are seriously violating UN resolutions that proclaim Sarajevo a protected zone. They opened fierce infantry and antiaircraft fire simultaneously on several lines of separation. This was accompanied by mortar shells. Chetniks are using mortars to target defense lines in the area of Velika Colina Kapa, Mala Colina Kapa, [word indistinct] Potok, and the Jewish cemetery. They are also firing infantry weapons, antiaircraft machine guns, and antiaircraft guns from the direction of the Jewish cemetery across the Miljacka River on residential buildings and streets in the municipalities of Centar and Novo Sarajevo. We have received no reports of casualties, the 1st Corps Information Service reports.

Army Reportedly Pushes Serbs Back at Maglaj

AU1909094094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Report issued by the Bosna Operations Group Press Center, via the 3d Corps Press Center]

[Text] [Word indistinct] hordes were not satisfied with their attacks on the protected areas, but yesterday had to attack Maglaj as well. Maglaj, however, is protected by the units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which responded fiercely to the Serbian aggressor's attacks and launched a fierce counteroffensive on the attacked locations. On this occasion, the defense lines were moved to our benefit: 500 meters deeper and about 1 km wider in the region of Krsno Polje. Two small enemy depots were destroyed, several trenches were taken and destroyed, and a dozen chetniks stopped dreaming about Greater Serbia. Powerless in the wake of another defeat, the chetniks showered Maglaj and nearby villages from a safe distance with 120-mm and 82-mm mortars, and Bofors weapons. We have no information about casualties but the material damage is considerable.

There was no peace in the Zavidovici-Vozuca battlefields either. Indiscriminate fire from antiaircraft weapons was frequently targeted on defenders and the village of Imamovici. A dozen 82-mm mortar shells have also fallen on other defense lines. At about 2200 [2000 GMT], two strong projectiles directed from chetnik positions in Teslic fell in the general area of Zavidovici.

All defensive lines with the chetnik aggressor, both those held earlier and newly established ones, are very stable.

This was the Press Center of the Bosna Operations Group reporting via the 3d Corps Press Center.

Bosnian Serbs Repel Muslim Attack on Mt. Ozren

LD1809202494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 18 (TANJUG)—Muslim troops on Sunday afternoon stepped up attacks on Serb military and civilian targets in northern Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA reports.

In the area of Vozuca and Mt. Ozren, the Serbs repelled a Muslim combined artillery-infantry attack without suffering any losses, the agency says.

Quoting a local Bosnian Serb command in Doboj, SRNA says that the Muslims have also stepped up attacks west and east of the city and in the area of Mt. Trebava.

SRNA reports Muslim small arms fire on the northeastern part of the Teslic front, and says that a dozen mortar shells were fired on Serb settlements along the Usora River.

The Muslim attacks stopped after a strong response from the Serb side, says the agency.

'Intensive' Serb 'Provocations' on Brcko Front

AU1909093894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Report by Hamid Deronjic]

[Text] There were more intensive provocations by the Serbian aggressor on the Brcko front last night. The chetniks attacked a large section of the Brcko defense lines, firing infantry and antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns. Using (?60-mm) and 82-mm mortars, portable rocket launchers, and rifle grenades, the chetniks carried out ever more intensive and frequent provocations on the central section of the Brcko front, the region of Vranovaca, and in the direction of (Poderiste) and Dubravice Donje.

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Late last evening, an enemy tank fired several projectiles at our positions from the occupied part of Omerbegovaca. As usual, the Serbian aggressor's provocations passed without any consequences for the security of the Brcko defense lines.

Serbs Suffer 'Serious Defeat' in Buzim

AU1609192194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Report by Muhamed Melic from Bihac]

[Text] All 5th Corps defense lines are under full control and its brave fighters are not allowing the enemy to endanger the free territories of the [word indistinct] district. Aggressor units are still regrouping and (?bringing in) fresh forces to the [word indistinct] of this front.

The intensity of the aggressor's attacks were greatest at the Buzim section of the front, but after the chetniks experienced a serious defeat there, it has been moving toward Bosanska Krupa, Cazin, and Bihac.

Since units of the 5th Corps entered Velika Kladusa, normal life has gradually been returning.

Serb Army Repels Muslim Offensive in Southeast

LD1809112894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Bileca, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—The Herzegovina Corps managed to repel sporadic heavy attacks by Muslim forces toward Konjic-Kalinovik during the past 24 hours, the command of the Serb forces has announced.

The Muslim army has suffered considerable losses and the Herzegovina Corps has taken control of several strategically important positions which will facilitate defense. The command also says that the Muslim offensive has died down.

No one was killed in the Serb ranks in the latest fighting. Two soldiers were wounded, but their lives are not in danger now.

The Muslim units are amassing infantry and equipment around Mt. Igman, Mt. Bjelasnica, and Gorazde, the line of possible attack on upper and middle Podrinje. They are only being held back by exceptionally bad weather in the area, the Herzegovina Corps command claims.

The command stresses that the army and civilians are taking all necessary measures to mount successful resistance to this large-scale offensive by the Muslim army. The aim of the offensive is to turn the course of the war to their advantage, and not only in Herzegovina, the Herzegovina Corps command stresses.

Bosnian Serbs Repel Muslim Attack on Nevesinje

LD1909105994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1041 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Text] Bileca, Sept. 19 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb forces early on Monday repelled a strong Muslim attack launched from near Mostar on the town of Nevesinje in southern Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb army said.

The brunt of the Muslim attack has for the past two days been shifted to Nevesinje, about 27 km southeast of Mostar, after the Bosnian Serb forces managed to push the Muslims away from some strategic points around the towns of Konjic about 36 km north of Mostar and Kalinovik about 45 km northeast of Mostar.

Bosnian Serb army sources said Muslims had fled the positions they had captured several days ago, leaving their heavy weapons, ammunition, and materiel.

The sources said the Bosnian Serbs had crushed Muslim commando teams that had attempted to break through to the town of Srbinje (formerly Foca) about 45 km southeast of Sarajevo.

Sarajevo Reports on 4th Corps Counteroffensive

LD1809145894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Excerpts] The 4th Corps' latest successes were spoken about in detail at a news conference in Jablanica today. [Name indistinct] reporting.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the news conference the officers spoke about the 4th Corps counteroffensive in their operational area and about the exceptional successes achieved by the fighters and Bosniaks who inflicted huge losses on chetnik evil-doers in the area.

Major (?Sead Dulic) told journalists that in a powerful counteroffensive the 4th Corps liberated the villages of Lazanica, (?Jaginja, Preckov), and Orlov Kuk in the [word indistinct] area, the Mt. Ljubinja area and the village of Bijela. The liberated area covers more than 80 square km. More than 100 chetniks were killed in the heavy 4th Corps attack. Some bodies have been taken to the free area and prisoners have been taken as well. [passage omitted]

A considerable amount of weapons and ammunition was captured in the liberated area, including many antiaircraft machine guns, antiaircraft guns, mortars, guns of various caliber, and a lot of infantry weapons and ammunition.

In order to foil the attacks by brave 4th Corps fighters, the chetniks used poison gas and tear gas in the village of Lazanice and (?Uskopi) near Glavaticevo. However, not even poison gas could halt the advance.

It is particularly important that the 4th Corps fighters managed to completely neutralize Serb artillery in the clashes in [word indistinct]. The stronghold of the Nevesinje chetnik brigade has finally been directly hit. Fourth Corps artillery hit vital military facilities in Kalinovik, setting them on fire. [passage omitted]

The 4th Corps command has addressed a proclamation to the Serb people who are fleeing the liberated areas,

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calling on them to return. Their safety is guaranteed, everything they left behind is waiting for them, and everyone except those who bloodied their hands and committed crimes against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is welcome to return.

A message of congratulations sent to the fighters and the 4th Corps command by President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic stresses among other things that Serb civilians must be protected and that they should (?be persuaded) to return because Bosnia-Herzegovina is a state of all nations who want it and consider it their own country. [passage omitted]

Death of 'Chetnik' General Ratko Mladic Rumored

LD1809150194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Excerpt] The question of whether the war criminal Ratko Mladic has been wounded and succumbed to his injuries has recently become very topical. Nada Al-Issa tried to find an answer today. Let us hear her report from Zagreb.

[Al-Issa] Where is the notorious chetnik General Ratko Mladic? Is he seriously wounded in hospital or has he already died?

A senior officer of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Zagreb, who did not want his name disclosed, said that UNPROFOR has received reports and statements to the effect that Mladic had been seriously wounded, or even killed, but UNPROFOR cannot oficially confirm this until it can verify the reports. So, UNPROFOR knows something but is either not sure or does not want to say anything.

The refugees from the Banja Luka area—around 70 of them who arrived at the UNPROFOR checkpoint near Novska yesterday—say that the whole of the Banja Luka Krajina is resounding with the stories that General Mladic was seriously wounded in the Bihac area and has already reportedly died.

On the basis of the refugees' accounts, all Croatian media report today—true, under a question mark—that Ratko Mladic is dead.

Fifth Corps officers in Bihac know for sure that the general was wounded. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Briefs Rose on Sarajevo Fighting

AU1909152894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Text] As we have already reported, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, today received [words indistinct] UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose, and Victor Andreyev, head of the UNPROFOR civilian sector. [Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Chief of General Staff] General Rasim Delic also attended the meeting.

Gen. Rose informed Izetbegovic about the incident that took place on the evening of 18 September, when—responding to provocations from Spicasta Stijena—the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps forces returned fire. It is Gen. Rose's opinion that such activity threatens the peace process and, were it to continue, he would have to recommend that UNPROFOR forces be withdrawn.

As is well known, Spicasta Stijena is one of the aggressor's most dangerous snipers' nests, from where 43 Sarajevo citizens have been shot dead in the past two years. Many more have been seriously wounded. Four civilians were wounded yesterday as a consequence of fire from this position, and this is what most probably provoked our defenders' response.

President Izetbegovic told Gen. Rose that UNPROFOR's withdrawal was not in the interest of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that yesterday's incident was our forces' spontaneous response to the aggressor's continual provocations from this position. Izetbegovic offered UNPROFOR to take control of Spicasta Stijena, which would resolve the constant, potential [words indistinct].

Gen. Delic reminded Gen. Rose that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff had over the past month filed 12 protests with UNPROFOR over the Serbian aggressor's flagrant violation of the exclusion zone around Sarajevo, but that UNPROFOR had not responded to the protests even once. Now when our forces have responded to enemy provocations, UNPROFOR has seen fit to react promptly. Regarding the supply of water, electricity, and gas, Victor Andreyev, head of UNPROFOR's civilian sector, said that the talks with the aggressor side scheduled for today would not be held, but that UNPROFOR was attempting to solve this problem because of its vital importance for the city and its citizens.

Presidency Opposes Lifting Yugoslavia Sanctions

LD1809175594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Text] Diplomatic games are being played by the Contact Group and the United Nations concerning the easing of the sanctions against the so-called Yugoslavia. Intensive debate on easing the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro is being held in the UN Security Council. Russian diplomacy has managed to focus the attention on only one measure from the Contact Group's plan: the one that is in Serbia's interest. We are wondering what will happen to the other measures from the plan. This was said in a statement from the office of Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic.

In response, we state that we are opposed to any easing of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro unless equally efficient measures are taken to protect the safe

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zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We would like to recall that, in addition to the issue of the sanctions, the Contact Group's plan under Point 5 envisions measures against the strangulation of Sarajevo and under Point 6 measures that should increase the protection of and extend the heavy weapons exclusion zones. We would also like to remind the Contact Group and the UN Security Council that Serbia is an aggressor and Bosnia was attacked, and that we accepted the peace plan while the Serbs rejected it.

The Contact Group and the international community have completely forgotten the peace plan's second measure, which is just as important as the sanctions. The consequence of their forgetfulness is the shameless attack on the protected zones and an unprecedented strangulation of Sarajevo. The closing of the blue routes has completely sealed off the city from the rest of the world; and water, electricity, and gas supplies have been cut off recently.

All measures from the Contact Group's plan can be reviewed only simultaneously and equally. We call on all of our friends in the world, and especially in the Security Council, to prevent the rewarding of the aggressor and the punishment of the victim of the aggression.

Sarajevo Notes New Sanctions on Bosnian Serbs

LD1809184294 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] The intensification of the blockade along the Drina River is causing even more difficulties for the Bosnian Serb republic. Our correspondent Milenko Lazarevic filed this report from Zvornik.

[Begin Lazarevic recording] The implementation of the new decree issued by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that bans automobile traffic via border crossings with the Bosnian Serb republic from 1900 [1800 GMT] to 0600 [0500 GMT] began last night. This was confirmed to us at the Karakaj border crossing near Zvornik. In accordance with the new decree, the FRY and Serbian border officials at the Mali Zvornik and Sepacki Most border crossings did not allow any automobiles to enter the Serb Republic after 1900 last night. Many automobiles had to spend the night on the right bank of the Drina River, waiting for the morning to continue their journeys after 0600.

People living on the banks of the Drina River have been shocked by such measures. This traffic restriction will cause problems mostly for ordinary citizens who have to cross the Drina on a daily basis. [end recording]

Bosnian Serb Sanctions Against Muslims Considered

LD1609193494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1916 GMT 16 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic said Friday Bosnian Serbs might be forced to impose sanctions against the Muslims.

The Bosnian Serb republic might be "forced to impose sanctions against the Bosnian Muslims, if Yugoslavia retained the economic sanctions against the Bosnian Serb republic," Karadzic said.

Karadzic had talks with opposition Democratic Party of Serbia President Vojislav Kostunica in the Bosnian Serb headquarters of Pale.

"Since the imposition of the blockade only 10 percent of the earlier humanitarian aid crosses the border between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb republic," Karadzic said after the talks.

As the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA reported, Karadzic said it was "certain that Yugoslavia itself will suffer significant economic losses from the economic embargo (against the Bosnian Serb republic)." He said that some twenty factories in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have already suspended production due to shortages of raw materials and intermediate goods earlier supplied by the Bosnian Serb Republic.

The Yugoslav Government on August 4 closed the border for all deliveries except humanitarian ones and severed all political and economic ties with Bosnian Serbs because its government failed to accept the map on Bosnia's division drawn up by the "Contact Group."

The people of the Bosnian Serb Republic rejected the map in a referendum held on September 27-28 [date as received].

The Contact Group did not change its stand on the map at a recent meeting and therefore the Bosnian Serb stand is still the same, Karadzic said. Bosnian Serbs, however, "have not rejected the peace process," he said.

After the talks, Kostunica said the civil war in Bosnia could end only if equal conditions were secured for all peoples. The right to self-determination which has been recognized for other peoples in former Yugoslavia must also be recognized for Serbs, he said.

The leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, the fourth strongest party in Serbia, said the Bosnian Serb republic, as a state entity, must be recognized the right to link with Yugoslavia.

Kostunica said any peace solution that includes a Yugoslav embargo against the Bosnian Serb republic is not acceptable.

Croats Bar Ejup Ganic From Entering Stolac

LD1809134994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 18 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

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[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 18 (TANJUG)—Muslim Radio Sarajevo has reported that vice president of the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation Ejup Ganic was not allowed into Croat-controlled town of Stolac Saturday. The radio reported from Mostar that Ganic was prevented to enter this Herzegovina town by Croats who had been expelled from central Bosnia by Muslims. The local Croat police was unable to guarantee security to Ganic, the radio said.

Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed a U.S.-brokered federal treaty in Washington last March after one year of their fierce fighting over territories in Bosnia.

The two sides continue accusing one another of jeopardizing their federation, their relations depending on Muslim or Croat predominance in the different sections of the federation. Croat sources say that 180,000 Croats were evicted by Muslims, while 50,000 Muslims escaped from Croat-controlled areas. The two sides cannot agree on how to return refugees to their homes.

Bosnian Croats Destroy Last Mosque in Vitez

LD1809143594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1322 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 18 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Croat army command in Vitez confirmed Saturday its troops had destroyed a mosque near the central Bosnian town, Radio Herceg-Bosna reported. It quoted the command as saying that two Muslim soldiers had been killed in the action. The news was previously reported by a local Muslim radio.

The mosque was the last Muslim religious shrine in Croat-controlled Vitez. The Croat radio said the mosque had not been demolished because of religious intolerence but because it had been used by Mujaheddin from Zenica for military purposes. The Croat command in Vitez said a number of Muslim troops and mujaheddin had been in the mosque when the action started. Two of them were killed while trying to escape, the Croat radio said.

The number of incidents between Croats and Muslims is growing despite the fact that the two sides have signed an agreement on forming a federation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnian Muslims and Croats had been engaged in a bloody war for territories in central Bosnia for one year before they signed the federation agreement in Washington last March.

The two sides are now exchanging accusations of attempted undermining of the federation, which has shown signs of coming into effect only at the highest political level, but not on the ground. Locally, the power is exclusively in the hands of the sides controlling the area militarily.

Both sides are making intensive preparations to prevent any possible surprise coming from its "ally."

In Jablanica near Tesanj, northern Bosnia, Muslims have organized a commando training centre to prepare for swift actions against Croat forces, the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quoted a statement by the Croat command in the northern Bosnian town Zepca carried by Bosnian Serb army sources. Military instructors at the centre are reported to be experts from Iran. The Croat command believes that the forming of the centre is connected with the Croat demand to establish its own community of Usora and expand the community of Zepca to include its pre-war territories, which are now controlled by Muslims, SRNA said.

Muslims Expel Croats From Bugojno

LD1809164294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Srbobran, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—The post office in Bugojno and all its telecommunications equipment have been destroyed in the latest Muslim-Croat clashes, Croat refugees from the town have said in Srbobran. They said that most Croats have been expelled from Bugojno and that the main part of the town is controlled by the Muslims.

According to the refugees, the Muslim-Croat clashes in the Bugojno area began three days ago. Explosions can be heard even on Serb positions north and west of the town. The refugees said that the latest Muslim-Croat conflict was caused by the Muslim authorities' constant efforts to prevent the creation of a Croat municipality in the Bugojno area. The refugees backed this claim by the fact that the Muslim side is still preventing the return of the Croat population to Bugojno.

ICRC: Serbs Expel 1,700 Muslims From Janja

AU1809132594 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 17 (AFP)—Up to 1,700 Moslems expelled from their homes in Serb-held northeastern Bosnia were forced across the front line Sunday [18 September], the biggest group evicted since the latest round of ethnic cleansing began this summer, a spokeswoman for the ICRC said.

Lisa Jones said the International Committee of the Red Cross feared the latest mass expulsion meant the Serbs had evicted all Moslems from the town of Janja.

The latest wave of expulsions came only 10 days after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic assured a senior UN official that he had ordered an end to expulsions from the Bijeljina area, which includes Janja, from where some 3,000 Moslems have been expelled since mid-July.

Problems in Tuzla Refugee Camp Growing

LD1809144894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 94

[Text] The genocide of Bosnians in Semberija is continuing. Today, the Serb aggressor forced the largest group ever from this area into exodus, [name indistinct] reports.

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[Unidentified correspondent] Bosnians, expelled from Janja and Bijeljina, are again heading for the reception centers in Tuzla. This afternoon the first group of victimized refugees were intercepted at the Majevica pass. At filing time for this report at 1230 GMT, 390 refugees, mostly from Janja arrived [word indistinct]. Every detail follows the evil script written by the puppet-masters of Pale and their executors at the Bijeljina branch office run by criminal Vojkan Djurkovic. Every Bosnian has to pay 200 German marks [DM] as a ticket to leave. The price tag, on this occasion, for men of military age was between DM1,000 and DM1,500.

The fascist masters again forced, via Vojkan Djurkovic, about 500 Bosnians from Janja to sign, prior to their exodus, a petition whereby they express their burning desire to abandon their centuries-old homes and farms so they can allegedly join their families, thus leaving everything to Karadzic's phantom state. This petition has been handed to the Red Cross with the proviso that [words indistinct] gladly fulfill their wishes in a Samaritan way. This is how [words indistinct] the genocide in Semberija is continuing in the full view of the world which has not yet curbed the chetnik hordes.

[Word indistinct] men of military age have been separated and taken to internment centers and camps. There is an estimated 200 of them from this group. As we file this report Tuzla is waiting for the arrival of further buses carrying refugees. According to the Tuzla reception center and the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross], this might be the largest group ever of Bosnian refugees from Semberija. The estimates vary between 800 and 1,000 people, while there are also indications that they may arrive in far larger number. The housing situation for the refugees and displaced people from Janja and Bijeljina is very grave, so reception centers in Tuzla's neighboring municipalities will also be utilized.

Pejanovic Tells Mazowiecki of 'Ethnic Cleansing'

AU1609151694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and president of the Serbian Civic Council, has written to Tadeusz Mazowiecki warning him that the planned process of ethnic cleansing, being carried out on the territory under the aggressor's control, will soon be completed unless more efficient measures to stop it are taken.

The letter also stresses that Mazowiecki should use his authority to (?ensure) that these criminal and inhuman acts committed against the Bosniaks and Croats are (?immediately stopped), while those responsible for the crimes already committed are discovered and handed over to the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. Pejanovic also proposed that observers be immediately sent to Banja Luka and Bijeljina with the task of informing the United Nations of the real degree of violence committed against [words indistinct] and in this way secure all the necessary proposals for taking the appropriate measures [sentence as heard]. Dr. Pejanovic has also addressed a similar letter to the head of the UN Protection Force Civilian Sector Sergio de Mello.

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Valentic Wants UNPROFOR Mandate Extended

LD1609191994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Excerpt] The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate, such as it stands, has not guaranteed peace and the return of refugees to their homes. Croatia is under pressure from the international community to extend the mandate of peacekeeping forces, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said during a meeting with members of the Executive Committee of the Croatian Refugees' Association in Zagreb. The meeting was attended by Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic and Adalbert Rebic, the head of the government's department for refugees. Jadranka Kosor reports:

[Kosor] When the refugees wanted to know when they would be going home, Prime Minister Valentic said that the government would insist on the supervision of borders and return of the refugees wherever possible, and also on the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate by the maximum of three months. [passage omitted]

Granic Letter to UN on 'Increasing Instability'

LD1609215794 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 16 Sep 94

[From the "Picture Versus Picture" program]

A letter that Croatian Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic sent to Butrus Butrus-Ghali this evening regarding developments in UN Protected Areas in Croatia and western Bosnia says:

The Croatian Government is seriously concerned over the latest developments in the areas. Continuous support lent by Serbia and Montenegro to Belgrade's allies in the occupied territories of Croatia, and to the political and paramilitary Bosnian Serb leadership is becoming a new source of increasing instability in this area.

Minister Granic warns that the Knin Serbs have been using 25 tanks, 40 artillery pieces, and 1,700 men in their offensive against Bihac. The Croatian foreign minister assesses this action as a well-planned military offensive aimed at seizing the Banja Luka-Knin railway line.

He also protests because of the Bosnian Serb attacks on the areas of Zupanja in the north and Dubrovnik in the south. He goes on to say that all this is well-planned and coordinated by Belgrade.

Slovak Spokesman Denies UN Tank Theft Report

LD1609212094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] According to preliminary information given by (Daniel Kostra), chief of staff of the Slovak contingent in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Croatia, military equipment that has been stolen by Krajina Serbs in the northern sector of the Batnoga area [south of Zagreb] might have been returned, Tomas Svec, spokesman of the general headquarters of the Slovak Army in Trencin, told CTK today. According to Svec, Krajina Serbs stole a tank and mine detection equipment belonging to the Slovak contingent from Polish soldiers, whose task was to guard the equipment. He therefore denied the UNPROFOR main headquarter's report that a group of Serb soldiers stopped Slovak blue berets and with pointed weapons forced them to surrender the equipment.

Rose Interviewed on Ending Arms Embargo

AU1709163194 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 94 pp 6,7

[Interview with General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zeljan Petkovic on the Croatian island of Korcula; date not given: "Lifting of Arms Embargo Would Be Followed by Far-Reaching Repercussions"]

[Text] Korcula currently has a direct telephone line to the cabinet of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, U.S. President Bill Clinton, and the cabinet of Ghali's Special Envoy for Former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi. Why? Because General Michael Rose, head of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, decided to spend his vacation there. He arrived in Korcula a couple of days ago accompanied by his wife Angela and his sons Edward and James. He is staying at the apartment of Fitzroy MacLean, who is a great friend of Korcula. General Rose gave us this interview on the terrace of a tavern in Lumbarda, after a meal consisting of risotto, fish chowder, fried dentex [as published] and famous Lombardian wine. He first told us something about himself: He was born in 1944, in Quett, Pakistan, a former English colony, where his father, who was also a soldier, was serving. He joined the British Army in 1964 as the fifth generation of soldiers in his family. He first held the rank of sergeant in the same regiment in which Sir Fitzroy MacLean, his predecessor in charge of the Balkans, served. He served in that capacity in Aden, Malaysia, in Northern Ireland, and the Falklands. He was promoted to the rank of general in 1989 and to the rank of Army general in 1993. The Queen of England bestowed the title of sir on him in 1994, to thank him for his work in the British Army.

[Petkovic] You are now on vacation in Korcula, Croatia. How do you feel and will you come here again?

[Rose] I feel very relaxed. This is my first visit to Dalmatia, to Korcula. The English have heard about tourism on the Adriatic coast, this is where I live a normal life. Korcula is beautiful. Perhaps I will come back here over holidays.

[Petkovic] Is Bosnia a "nightmare" to you?

[Rose] No, not at all, I can separate my private life from work and not think about it. I am fully relaxed and enjoy this peaceful town.

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Small Steps

[Petkovic] When you came to Bosnia, you only had theoretical knowledge from the English point of view of what was going on there. Have your views changed with the experience gained on the ground?

[Rose] I am a soldier, a professional, and my military principles have remained unchanged. Otherwise, I am very impressed and surprised by the strength of those people in enduring all their suffering; by their courage, their faith and hope for better future that has not diminished even after two years of this terrible war.

[Petkovic] What kind of war is this in your opinion—an aggression against the country or a civil war?

[Rose] This is more of a political question. Some people believe this is a civil war, others that this is aggression against a sovereign country. It depends on one's point of view. I am a soldier and I cannot answer that question. I know for sure that the fact that there were so many nations in Bosnia before the war was its most important asset. It seems like, over the past 50 years, something negative has accumulated in relations between those nations that has now come to the surface. There are many reasons for that and it is difficult to give the right answer. Those who want to find a quick solution for Bosnia do not understand the essence of the Bosnian conflict. The only thing one can do is help make small steps toward peace.

[Petkovic] Do you think we are approaching the solution step-by-step?

[Rose] I think we are getting closer toward laying the foundations for peace, as the economy of Bosnia was completely destroyed. And no side can afford the status quo any longer. Furthermore, my experience on the ground tells me that ordinary people are sick of the war. Take a look at central Bosnia; there is peace there now. The economy is slowly recovering, schools are opening. One simply feels the movement toward peaceful, normal living. Even Sarajevo, for the past seven months, has not been under heavy mortar fire. Sniper activity has lately also been considerably reduced. Consequently, people have more faith that their lives will get back to normal again. It seems to me that ordinary people do not always reflect the will of their leaders. If leaders listened to the will of the people, peace would already be established.

[Petkovic] Will your soldiers be deployed along the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and do you think that will help toward the establishment of peace?

[Rose] That depends on what Milosevic says. This is one of many ways to establish peace in Bosnia.

Milosevic

[Petkovic] Do you not find it offensive and unacceptable that Milosevic appoints supervisors himself and lays down conditions regarding whom he will tolerate on his border?

[Rose] Ask political leaders, ask the UN. On the ground, in accordance with their politics, we participate in the process of establishing peace through negotiations rather than imposing peace by force of arms. The two years of our operation have cost $5 billion and a great many of our soldiers have been killed or wounded in that time. It is not our job to get involved in the war. UN soldiers sent by their respective countries are volunteers and their first duty is to help distribute humanitarian relief to those who need it. In addition to negotiating with warring factions, that is their only duty.

[Petkovic] As the first UNPROFOR soldier in Bosnia, do you think that the possible deployment of your soldiers along the border with Serbia will be an efficient safeguard against the Serbs from Serbia sending weapons, oil, and food to the Bosnian Serbs?

[Rose] It would be much easier for us to control the border, even to prevent supplies for the Bosnian Serbs coming from Serbia. However, there would be open borders on the other side, let us not forget that.

[Petkovic] If your soldiers are deployed on the border, have you prepared a plan for the supervision?

[Rose] Yes. There are already plans to deploy soldiers along the border, but we need more money for that, more equipment, and men. We would definitely have to bring in more troops.

[Petkovic] How many soldiers would it take for an efficient blockade?

[Rose] The UN secretary general must determine that and then ask UN members to make contributions in support of that action. The number of soldiers for the action depends on their mandate, their precise duty on the border, and on how long they would stay there. That is a very complex problem. In my opinion, the main problem is to get people to agree to stop fighting. However, we cannot force them, we can only persuade them. That is our mandate, for we are here to keep peace, not to create peace by force.

United States

[Petkovic] Is lifting the arms embargo against the Muslims and the Croats, thus creating a military balance, one of the ways to stop the war in Bosnia?

[Rose] There is a theory, a very realistic one. If you do that, it is like adding oil to the fire. But it is impossible to foresee all the consequences.

[Petkovic] But the war continues precisely because one side is superior. If there were a balance of powers, would that not create an impasse so that the Serbs would not be so arrogant?

[Rose] That could be true, but on the other hand, it could spread the war. In my opinion, that would sooner lead to more fighting, great number of casualties, and more destruction. There is another danger—of UNPROFOR

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withdrawing from Bosnia—which is the worst possible solution for the people of Bosnia. As far as I know, the secretary general wrote to the president of the Security Council that, if the fighting stepped up, UNPROFOR soldiers would pull out.

[Petkovic] Is there a plan to pull out UNPROFOR soldiers if the fighting steps up?

[Rose] Yes, but I hope the situation is still not that dramatic. Still, some of the nations and countries that sent their soldiers to Bosnia have already prepared plans for the pullout of their soldiers and there is a joint plan made by the UN.

[Petkovic] Would you have enough time to pull out heavy artillery if the fighting stepped up quickly?

[Rose] We do not have much heavy artillery; there is more logistic equipment for delivering humanitarian relief. The lives of 2,700,000 people depend on that aid. The withdrawal of UNPROFOR would have terrible repercussions on those people. I think that would lead to war, not to peace. Therefore, it is my opinion that UNPROFOR should not pull out.

[Petkovic] The United States advocates the lifting of the arms embargo against the Muslims and the Croats.

[Rose] They have to be responsible for such a policy.

[Petkovic] Do you think that the politics of the United States is wrong?

[Rose] I cannot criticize the politics of a country that is an important factor in the UN. The United States contributes 28 percent of their sources to UN funds for the aid to Bosnia. Whenever they inspect Bosnia, visitors from the United States see what consequences the lifting of the arms embargo would have.

Seizing Weapons

[Petkovic] Are you satisfied with what you have done in Bosnia?

[Rose] Nobody can be satisfied because one can always give more. Still, I think we have laid the foundations for peace. I was optimistic in the beginning, but people say that optimists are misinformed pessimists. I am not pessimistic now.

[Petkovic] Do you think you are responsible for the fact that the Serbs shell Croatian areas, Zupanja and Dubrovnik, from Bosnia? What have you done to prevent that?

[Rose] We used all available means to locate the source of shelling. Our officers talked to Serb military leaders, Yasushi Akashi met with Radovan Karadzic. I still do not know the result of that meeting, for I am still on holiday. I hope that will not happen again.

[Petkovic] Why do you let the Serbs steal weapons from exclusion zones which are under your control?

[Rose] In principle, that does not happen but these are the Balkans. Nothing we agreed on is fully respected on the ground. Still, we are controlling and guarding those weapons and we do not allow the Serbs to seize them. Anyway, when that happened, we enforced the NATO ultimatum. Our duty is to prevent them from seizing heavy artillery from those warehouses and use them for more attacks on Gorazde and Sarajevo. For the time being, we are generally successful in that area, but UNPROFOR does not have the mandate to disarm any warring party.

Minimal Force

[Petkovic] But UNPROFOR cannot let the Serbs seize weapons right before its very eyes, that it is in charge of guarding.

[Rose] When the Serbs openly broke agreements, we did take action against them and we will take similar action against any side that will break firm rules of the United Nations.

[Petkovic] Should there be more NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs?

[Rose] Our principle is to apply the minimum force necessary and that is our basic peacekeeping principle. We cannot and must not change the balance of powers by getting involved. People on the ground often do not understand that.

[Petkovic] Which side do you think is the least cooperative, which side has the least respect for the "rules of the game?"

[Rose] Neither side keeps all it promises, but the Serbs are the most difficult to talk to at present.

[Petkovic] Some time ago, you got into an argument with General Mladic. What do you think about him as a soldier?

[Rose] I do not talk about people, just about the politics they represent and lead. General Mladic's opinion about me, or mine about him, is the least important.

[Petkovic] Do you have sufficient strength to implement the plan on the ground?

[Rose] We need more logistics, more engineers for minesweeping operations, but we have limited resources and we are undermanned. The economy of many countries is not at its best. They have all cut their military budget. In this situation, it is no longer easy to get the money and find people who are exclusively volunteers.

[Petkovic] How much are these volunteer soldiers paid?

[Rose] Every soldier get $700 every month from the UN, but I do not know how much more they get from their own country. I know that Great Britain gives each soldier a daily allowance of $1.28, which is very little for what they are going through down there.

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[Petkovic] Can you assess the strength of Izetbegovic's army?

[Rose] We do not have the means to gather intelligence information about the strength of any army on the ground. There are always some differences between the number of soldiers and their ability and combat readiness.

Blockade

[Petkovic] If politics does not produce results in Bosnia, will the joint Croat-Muslim army present a respectable factor which could deal with the Serbs on the battlefield?

[Rose] In any case, such a joint army would be more powerful. Large quantities of heavy artillery, which the Bosnian army does not have at the moment, would be at its disposal. That would be a powerful, impressive force. Muslim soldiers are very brave and, metaphorically speaking, they are prepared to die defending their streets armed only with a rifle. But there is a world of difference between defensive and offensive operations. If they switched to offensive operations, that would require more weapons, which would then have serious consequences. Such operations require a lot of heavy artillery. That would be a very complex task—if the Bosnian forces wanted to retrieve the lost territory. Indeed, they have the manpower, but on the other hand, the Serbs have a superior military technology, heavy artillery, and tactics for using those weapons. It would be some time before the Muslims and the Croats had a chance to seize back the conquered territory and be able to defend it later. However, I think that war is not the way to establish peace.

[Petkovic] What do you think about the refugees protesting in Croatia?

[Rose] Their UNPROFOR blockade hindered the passage of humanitarian relief to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Petkovic] The Holy Father will soon come to Sarajevo. The Serbs are threatening him. Can your forces guarantee his security? Will you be by his side in Sarajevo?

[Rose] Of course I will. You can never have absolute security. The Bosnian Serbs hold all the hills around Sarajevo, and that is why we cannot give absolute guarantees. However, we will try to provide as much security as we can for the Holy Father.

[Petkovic] Do you believe in the Pope's mission of peace in the Balkans?

[Rose] Yes, I believe and am convinced it is a very important one. His arrival to Sarajevo is an additional effort to establish peace. He symbolizes hope for peace.

[Petkovic] Will the Pope visit and bless your soldiers as well?

[Rose] Yes, he will bless them, for there are many Catholics in our troops who go to church every Sunday throughout Bosnia. I believe it will be an important experience for them too.

Krajina Official on Danger of Bosnian 5th Corps

AU1609173494 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 94 p 9

[Interview with Slobodan Jarcevic, Krajina Serb official with responsibility for foreign affairs, by T. Tomasevic; place and date not given: "Enemy Will Not Pass"]

[Excerpts] "Mobilization in the republic of Serbian Krajina will be carried out if the danger posed by the Bosnian Army 5th Corps, led by Atif Durakovic, continues. Being the smallest state in former Yugoslavia, the republic of Serbian Krajina must take all measures to protect itself from attacks such as the latest one in Banija, when several our soldiers were killed or wounded," Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign affairs adviser to Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, told VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

[Jarcevic] The commander of the 5th Corps of Alija's army, Atif Durakovic, will most probably not satisfy himself with last week's attack on our territory. He has some 20,000 soldiers under arms. It is a corps that must cause concern in the republic of Serbian Krajina, particularly in the areas along the border. The part of Lika, where all this is happening, is poorly populated, which is the reason we cannot mobilize the necessary number of soldiers in the region to be able to resist the enemy. By announcing this possible mobilization, our army's officers refer chiefly to the need to reinforce the border with the help of the soldiers from other parts of the republic of Serbian Krajina. We have to be ready to defend, all the more so because Croatia could also make a coordinated military action with Alija's 5th Corps, aimed at cutting our state in two or three parts by joint attacks on only one part of the republic of Serbian Krajina. After the signing of the Washington Agreement, Croatia, having previously supported Fikret Abdic, had to agree to Alija's demand to renounce Baba [Abdic's nickname]. Most probably, it was then that Izetbegovic promised Tudjman a favor in return. [passage omitted]

[Tomasevic] How far have the negotiations gone on reestablishing telephone connections with Croatia?

[Jarcevic] In June president Martic met with Owen and Stoltenberg in Geneva, and then the co-chairmen insisted that we accepted the resumption of the Croatian telephone and telegraph network. Martic rejected the proposal, justifying it with the fact that Croatia had disconnected Krajina from the telephone network in the first place. When that happened neither the co-chairmen nor the international community intervened to protect the right of the people of the republic of Serbian Krajina to connections with the rest of the world. Everybody approved of that step by Croatia.

[Tomasevic] Now Croatia wants to take you back.

[Jarcevic] That is insane, because we are at war with Croatia. By taking our telephone network into its own, Croatia could eavesdrop on all telephone calls made in

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the republic of Serbian Krajina, and even those between our leadership and our army. President Martic has said that Yugoslavia was the first to provide technical aid to the republic of Serbian Krajina by linking it up with its own international area code, and so it will remain until the final political settlement. Then the co-chairmen proposed that a special area code be given to the republic of Serbian Krajina, which would not be either that of Croatia or of Yugoslavia. However, since we do not have the technical capacities for such an operation and would have to import expensive equipment, while, in addition, I do not know who could ever sell us that equipment because of the embargo, we had to turn down this rather attractive proposal. We decided to continue to be in the telephone and telegraph network of Yugoslavia.

Protest to Butrus-Ghali

[Tomasevic] How do you see the growing international pressure for the settlement of the Croatia-Krajina question to be bound up with the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia?

[Jarcevic] That was the reason that we lodged a protest on Monday [5 September] to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, reminding him that the sanctions were not introduced because of the republic of Serbian Krajina. In the letter we pointed to the coincidence that binding up the issue of the republic of Serbian Krajina with the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia was announced on the same day by Kinkel, after a meeting with Owen, by a representative of the White House, and by Tudjman, after his meeting with Kosyrev in Zagreb.

[Tomasevic] On the Yugoslav political stage the blockade of Yugoslavia against the Srpska republic is still a leading topic. How are relations between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Srpska republic at the moment, in view of the decision made by the Krajina leadership to postpone unification with the Srpska republic?

[Jarcevic] Unification has been postponed so as not to irritate the international community any further, but the leaderships of both states, both our peoples know that the fate of one state is bound up with the fate of the other. If one of them ceases to exist as a state, the other can hardly survive. Our leaders are aware of this, and these days we are endeavoring to integrate our two states as much as possible, while in the event of danger, the Muslim-Croatian coalition will be resisted by one army, one general staff, and one political leadership.

[Tomasevic] Does this mean in concrete terms that, in the event of a broader Muslim offensive against strategic positions of the Srpska republic, the army of the repubic of Serbian Krajina will also intervene?

[Jarcevic] We shall certainly help out the army of the Srpska republic in the event of great danger, just as it will help us out, if it comes to Muslim or Croatian aggression against the republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Box, pg 9]

[Jarcevic] Even if the leaders of all the states that have been established on the territory of former Yugoslavia agree to make a new, fourth Yugoslavia, be it a confederation or federation, the republic of Serbian Krajina will accept this, but only on condition that it is recognized as equal to all the other republics. We shall have nothing against such a Yugoslavia. But to join such a Yugoslavia as an integral part of Croatia is unacceptable to us.

Report on 'Chetnik' Offensive Against Dubrovnik

94BA0404A Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by Antun Masle: "Artillery Offensive by Herzegovina Corps: Serbian Armed Forces Directly Controlling Fire Against Dubrovnik Airport!"]

[Text] *GLOBUS reporters have uncovered the horrible truth about the large-scale military operations that units of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia from Montenegro and the chetniks of Duke Vucurevic from Herzegovina are carrying out every day in the Dubrovnik region, but which Croatian television and the Croatian press have been hiding from the public for a full month.*

Nearly every day since 24 July, Herzegovinan chetniks have been bombarding the Dubrovnik airport with 76-mm and 122-mm shells from positions at the foot of Mt. Orijen; after passengers leave the airplane and enter the terminal, the airport is shelled from positions in Herzegovina, and fire is also coming from positions in Montenegro; UN military observers record every attack, but in their reports they say that they cannot determine whence the greater Dubrovnik area is being shelled.

Nearly every day from 24 July to present, Herzegovinan chetniks have shelled the greater Dubrovnik area and the Dubrovnik airport. In a deliberate and planned fashion, as if based on the flight schedule, several 76-mm and 122-mm shells are fired at Konavle from eastern Herzegovina.

From well-established firing positions at the base of Mt. Orijen near the town of Grab, Russian 122-mm "Gvozdika" self-propelled howitzers open artillery fire, while 76-mm shells are launched from M-18 self-propelled guns, a weapon produced back before the beginning of World War II.

The plan of attack is very simple. When a Croatia Airlines plane lands at Dubrovnik airport, and after the passengers enter the terminal, fire activity against the airport and vicinity begins.

The intention is obvious: to engender panic among travellers without inflicting major civilian casualties and to force Croatia to close the airport, which would place

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Dubrovnik, which is already cut off in terms of transportation, in an even more difficult political and economic situation. On the other hand, any hit of a grounded airplane would cause an enormous increase in insurance premiums for all air carriers flying in this region, which would even further aggravate the difficult conditions for doing business caused by frequent doubts by foreign investors and insurance companies about investing their capital in a zone subject to the risk of war. The time and manner in which these attacks are carried out indicate another indisputable fact: Such shelling of the Dubrovnik airport is possible only with the active use of Montenegrin territory.

Ever since the Croatian Armed Forces have been allowed to station part of their forces in the Dubrovnik hinterland on Bosnia-Herzegovina territory under the terms of an agreement between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, Croatian forces on the southern front have occupied all the dominant summits above Dubrovnik previously controlled by Herzegovinan-Montenegrin chetniks and the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. The only point from which it is currently possible to get a full visual survey of the situation in Konavle is located in Montenegro, at an elevation of 1,073 meters. Thus, scarcely a day goes by without the sound of explosions from the direction of the airport in Cilipi after the landing of the night flight from Zagreb, or around 0730, before the morning flight to Zagreb takes off.

Shelling Follows Flight Schedule

The first shell fired on 24 July put the management of the airport and the Ministry of Transportation and Communication in a dilemma: to close the airport or to continue service. In the meantime, the Slovene carrier Adria Airway has closed down its route, while Croatia Airlines is continuing its daily flights to Dubrovnik, together with the Czech CSA, which appears at the Dubrovnik airport only once a week.

The current manager of the Dubrovnik airport, Tonci Peovic, says this about the situation at the airport: "We are in continuous contact with the Ministry of Transportation and Communication, and we assess the situation on a daily basis. We assess whether we should halt service, and we will do that, but it is promising that the problem has been internationalized and that daily reports on the situation at the airport are being provided to the UN Security Council."

Tonci Peovic is known as a very capable manager who together with Jure Kapetanovic and other officials at the Dubrovnik airport lifted the airport up from the ashes and made it possible to resume air service.

Besides the Herzegovinan chetniks who are responsible for the daily shelling of the Dubrovnik airport, Tonci Peovic also accuses Montenegro and the so-called FRY of state terrorism: "Intelligence officers with the Croatian Armed Forces have photographed messages concerning adjustments in the fire coming from the nearby Bjelotina massif, which dominates the southeastern part of Konavle. After every airplane landing, they fire four to eight shells, and they do so when the passengers are inside the terminal."

The presence of blue helmets and their records of the craters that have been created are completely useless. Their reports are always the same: They count the craters, record the figure in orderly fashion, and announce that they do not have any information on where the shells came from. In order to get an answer to that question, they should spend more time in the field, but after the first serious attack the UN military observers, who had been stationed in the town of Dubravice, retreated to the safe zone of the magnificent Hotel Argentina in Dubrovnik. Nor is the UN observer team posted in Bileca any help in determining who is shooting. The local population's lack of confidence in the members of the UN team is so great that residents of Konavle suspect that the "blues" are using their satellite phones to give the Serb side information on where shells have fallen.

Dropped Story

The artillery under the command of General Radovan Grubac resumed fire against the western parts of Primorje and Zupa Dubrovnicka Opstina at precisely 1500 on 25 July.

The shells that rained down on the slopes along the seashore started a fire in Zupa in which dry vegetation was consumed. These shells fell only several hundred meters away from inhabited areas and the beach.

The Croatian media's coverage of that event was extremely clumsy: The story ran on Croatian radio, but right after the first reading it was dropped from all news broadcasts. Since such a major incident could not go unnoticed, the information was carried by the foreign media that same day.

The next day, information on the attack was provided by the Croatian media as well, and shortly thereafter President Tudjman sent a letter of protest to the Security Council, seeking protection from Serb terrorist attacks. But before the letter to the Security Council and after the attack on Primorje and Zupa, daily attacks on the Dubrovnik airport began.

Vucurevic Acknowledges Attacks

During all the attacks, the leader of the Herzegovinan Serbs, Bozidar Vucurevic, a truck driver from Trebinje, has not even attempted in his statements to make a secret of the renewed attacks against Konavle by his chetniks. Announcing a continuation of the shelling, he calls himself an "assistant to Nika Bulic," the Croatian minister of tourism responsible for the Dubrovnik region. According to Vucurevic, tourism in Dubrovnik will depend on his good will until the question of a Serb outlet on the sea is resolved. Radio Trebinje justifies the

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attacks on the airport by pointing to the alleged stationing of Croatian military aircraft in concrete shelters at the airport.

"We have strict orders not to return fire against enemy military targets, and we are complying with those orders entirely," says Major Srecko Kljukan, commander of the Konavle tactical group, which holds the extreme positions on the southern part of the front.

"People are angry and can barely wait until they can return fire, but we are respecting the command that the commander of the southern front, Nojko Marinovic, issued to us personally at our positions," Maj. Kljukan explains almost with disappointment.

It is obvious that this is a political rather than military decision about how to solve the problem of renewed attacks on the Dubrovnik airport by Serb terrorists. General Nojko Marinovic would certainly be the first to respond with fire to the new attacks by his neighbors, with whom he has been fighting for nearly three whole years now.

The Serb positions at Grab, from which "Gvozdika" self-propelled howitzers are being fired, are only 11.5 km from the airport. Like the self-propelled M-16, the "Gvozdika" is very mobile, and after firing shells it can easily change position. Thus, any fire response would have to be instantaneous.

Humiliating Position

The enemy artillery could be neutralized from our positions almost simultaneously if the enemy positions were located using artillery radar. But in that case the fire would have to be of a much stronger intensity because artillery weapons are individual targets and can be destroyed only with a large number of shells, which would probably result in an escalation of the fighting.

Airplanes could be used for this purpose only if they were located near the site of the attack, in the anticipation zone, and if they responded with an instantaneous attack on the Serb positions. However, such an action would violate the no-fly zone, which would bring with it the possibility of clashes between Croatian and NATO airplanes.

The best and safest way would be to drive the Serb forces to a distance of around 30 km from the positions that they currently hold, from which they would no longer be able to carry out their barbaric attacks. But a broader political consensus on the international level would be necessary for such an operation, in order to avoid renewed pressure from the world community.

Such an opportunity was missed when the joint forces of the HVO [Croat Defense Council] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forced the chetniks out of Mostar and Stoce toward Nevesinje, which caused the panicked flight of chetniks from the advancing combined Croat-Muslim units.

Any limited action against Trebinje would bring with it great risk, because attacks on the city of Dubrovnik itself could be resumed. Regardless of what further steps are taken, one thing is certain: In the Dubrovnik region Croatia has been placed in an extremely humiliating position, and all indications are that it cannot be rectified by diplomatic means.

Since "Duke" Vucurevic continues to let water flow to the Plat hydroelectric power plant, for which the Croatian Government is paying him 2 million German marks a month, perhaps the latest attacks simply reflect his desire to force the Croatian Government to pay a new fee for peace along the Dubrovnik coast.

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Federal

Belgrade Sees 'Perceptible Change' in U.S. Stand

LD1609120294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1111 GMT 16 Sep 94

["Pool" item by Dejan Lukic: "U.S. Welcomes Yugoslavia's Measures as Conducive to Bosnia Peace"]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—The U.S. State Department has welcomed the Yugoslav Government's decision to close the border with the Bosnian Serb republic to all but relief aid traffic.

State Department spokesman Mike McCurry described the step as a welcome development in a press briefing Thursday.

McCurry told the press the international community would soon assess the actual situation on the border and determine if Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was continuing to exert pressure on the Bosnian Serbs as he had said he would do.

The Yugoslav Government broke off all political and economic relations with the Bosnian Serb republic on August 4, after the Bosnian Serb National Assembly had rejected Belgrade's appeals to accept the 'Contact Group' plan for dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Contact Group for Bosnia was set up in February by the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Germany. McCurry's statement reflects a subtle yet perceptible change which has lately appeared in Washington's attitude to the question of suspending some of the sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

The United Nations Security Council imposed the sanctions in late May 1992, for the country's alleged involvement in civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and has tightened them twice since.

The Contact Group is expected Friday to submit two draft resolutions to the U.N. Security Council, one on easing the sanctions against Yugoslavia, and the other on tightening the sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs.

The U.S. Administration has been openly skeptical about Yugoslavia's and Milosevic's commitment to this course of action, using its skepticism to block an easing of the sanctions as long as possible.

Lately, however, under pressure form the Contact Group, and Russia in particular, the White House is beginning to relax its intransigent stand, with Clinton loath to strain relations with Moscow prior to a visit from Yeltsin on September 27.

After much soul-searching, U.S. analysts and top presidential aides have begun to realize that a strain with the allies and disbanding of the Contact Group would do more harm than the lifting of the sanctions.

This view is shared even by those among them notorious for their anti-Serb sentiments, such as national security adviser Anthony Lake.

Moreover, Clinton faces the difficult maneuver of inducing the western allies and Russia to exempt Bosnian Muslims from the 1991 U.N. arms ban on the former Yugoslavia.

Foreign Border Monitors Arrive in Belgrade

AU1609203494 Paris AFP in English 2001 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 16 (AFP)—A group of observers, 17 Norwegians and two Britons, charged with checking sanctions against Bosnian Serbs arrived Friday evening [16 September] in Belgrade, an AFP correspondent reported from Belgrade airport.

The observers arrived on two planes coming from Budapest and refused to make any statement. When questioned by journalists, one observer replied: "We are not supposed to speak."

Among the observers are several women.

On Wednesday General Bo Pellnas, the Swedish general heading the international observer team, said observers would only check convoys of humanitarian aid still being allowed to cross the border from Serbia and Montenegro, and would work in a purely civilian capacity.

Government Denies Supplying Bosnian Serbs

LD1709201594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs has issued a statement saying that it "resolutely rejects as unfounded and false a statement made in Washington by Rasim Delic, the commander of the Bosnian Muslim Army, about alleged deliveries of arms, ammunition, and fuel from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] to the Srpska republic. This is yet another blatant attempt by the Muslim leadership to discredit the principled and resolutely peaceful policy of the FRY, by using fabrications and lies and by trying to question the validity of the international community's standpoint on the inevitable lifting of the sanctions against the FRY," the statement forwarded to TANJUG says.

"As it cannot stop the erosion of its reputation—caused by its insistence on the war, its cease-fire violations, and particularly by the so-called Muslim Army's Fifth Corps' unprecedented terror against its own people in the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, the Muslim leadership is systematically trying to slow down and hamper the peace process with fabricated accusations," the statement says and points out in conclusion:

"All international players should double their efforts in order to intensify the current peace process and finally

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find a lasting and just negotiated solution based on the Contact Group's plan. The FRY Government will continue to give its full contribution to this process as it believes that the vital interest of all nations in the region is a just peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible."

Kontic: Economic Priorities To Be Maintained

AU1609172194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Maintaining price stability, the parity of the dinar, and the balanced budget will continue to be the prime objectives of the new Federal Government. This was stated, among other things, by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic at the final session of the economists' convention in Milocer. Dusan Vojnovic reports:

[Vojnovic] Prime Minister Kontic supported economic experts' efforts to find a way to set up a financial market, which was the main theme of the meeting. The prime minister stressed that the market cannot be efficient without a financial market. The Federal Government will therefore very soon introduce some legal regulations in this sphere. Dr. Radoje Kontic briefed the 450 participants at the meeting on the current economic policy and the new Federal Government's plans. The main objectives will remain the same. In other words, the government will try to maintain the stability of prices, the parity of the dinar, and a balanced budget. Prime Minister Kontic then presented forecasts for an increase in the GDP, whose increase is the best proof of the success of the implementation of the program of monetary and economic recovery of the country.

[Kontic] That we have successful entered the second stage, which I tentatively call the strengthening of economic activity, is best illustrated by the fact that in the first seven months, that is, January-July, in comparison with the average for last year, the domestic product rose by 2 percent. If we think of the domestic product as a artificial indicator of our total activity, of our total results, then it is quite certain that this achievement, measured in terms of domestic product, is better than expected.

Why I am talking about the last year's average? Because, and you probably know this very well, both industrial production and domestic product were at a considerably higher level last year than in the second half of [word indistinct] year. Therefore, it is sufficient for economic trends to continue at this level of industrial production, which is still lower than in the same period last year by about 9.5 percent—although [words indistinct] are rising in agriculture and trade, thus strengthening the social product by 2 percent—in other words, it is sufficient to remain at that level to reach by the end of the year the increase in the domestic product that we planned in January when we set the economic policy for 1994. [sentence as heard] This means a rise of 5 percent. If I may be an optimist, even under the current conditions, and especially counting on the lifting of the sanctions, which appears to be almost certain, even if only minimal, this can quite certainly ensure an increase of as much as 7-8 percent in comparison with last year.

[Vojnovic] The economists taking part in the second convention of economists in Milocer send a message to the public and the relevant state bodies. The message was read by Dr. Stanko Radmilovic. The conclusion of the expert team that worked on the wording of the message is that the program of the monetary reconstruction and economic recovery has produced exceptional results. [passage omitted]

Court Convicts Woman of Spying for Germany

AU1609140294 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 16 (AFP)—A Yugoslav woman, convicted of spying for Germany, was sentenced to three and a half years in prison by a court in Nis, 220 kilometers (140 miles) south of Belgrade, the daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI reported Friday [16 September].

Andjelka Stefanov, 42, was convicted of gathering information on the political, economic, and military situation in Yugoslavia from September 1992 to May 1993, for the benefit of the German secret service.

Stefanov, defending her action at the trial which lasted barely a few hours, said she had thought she was helping humanitarian organizations when providing the information.

She was arrested on May 15 in possession of a list outlining the location of barracks, military posts, and atomic sites around Nis, a large industrial center in southern Serbia. Nis, an armaments production center, is also the training site for Yugoslav army paratroopers.

Witnesses said that Stafanov was recruited by the German secret service during a period of time that she lived in Duesseldorf, in north-eastern Germany.

UN Sends Humanitarian Supplies to B-H Serbs

LD1709145194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1414 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Pool item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has sent construction material to Bosnian Serbs, UNHCR spokeswoman Yoko Nichimura said Saturday.

Five trucks carrying the humanitarian supplies crossed into the Bosnian Serb republic from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia near Sremska Raca, heading for Sokolac, Bijeljina and Visegrad, said the spokeswoman for the UNHCR Belgrade office.

She said UNHCR was still waiting for a response to its request to the Yugoslav Government to be allowed to use

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another five Yugoslav border crossings to the Bosnian Serb Republic for its humanitarian transports.

Last August, Yugoslavia closed its border with the Serb Republic for all but humanitarian shipments and allowed the crossing of humanitarian aid only near Sremska Raca but the Yugoslav Government later allowed UNHCR convoys to use a total of six border crossings.

However, for the past ten days UNHCR convoys have used only the Sremska Raca crossing, which has created problems because it is a longer route and more fuel is needed, Nichimura said.

She said another convoy would carry 15 tonnes of construction equipment to Muslim-held Gorazde on Sunday.

Serbia

Seselj Accuses Milosevic of 'Treason'

AU1809163694 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 94 p 5

[Report by M. Mikuljanac: "They Can Do Nothing to Us, We Will Drink the Drina"]

[Text] Belgrade—"No controllers can be effective on the Drina River, in the heart of Serbia, because we will trick every control and, if need be, we will drink the Drina," Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said yesterday at his regular news conference.

"We now know that Milosevic has not only accepted the observers, but he himself has asked that they be deployed, and that is treason. They are now trying to present foreign agents as humanitarian workers, but what kind of humanitarian workers are these when they prevent communication between two parts of the same people," Seselj wondered.

According to the Radicals, there will be no lifting of the sanctions, particularly not economic ones, and the opening of the Belgrade airport "will only help the nouveau riche reach Cyprus more easily."

Seselj yesterday welcomed the announced withdrawal by Babic from Mikelic's government in Krajina, and added that the Radicals were ready to renew the coalition with the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina, together with all the patriotic forces in the Krajina, primarily with the SDS of the Serb Lands. "Together with Martic, who is coping very well with all these developments, we will continue the struggle for the unification of the Serbian lands," Seselj said.

The Radicals have announced a new initiative in the Serbian Assembly, where they will try to get Assembly Chairman Dragan Tomic removed. The reasons are: unauthorized statements, interruption of the extraordinary session, and failure to schedule the continuation of the session.

"The regime is leading the entire nation into a disaster, poverty is on the rise, the farmers have been robbed, and the pensioners and workers will follow suit, while the authorities are lying about the economic recovery and growth," Seselj concluded.

[Box, p 5]

"What kind of a distorted system of moral and political values is this," Seselj groaned when asked about the first effects of the Radicals' initiative to oust the federal government.

"Kontic tells us via the papers that we are destructive. We are destructive because we oppose the blockade against our brothers on the other side of the Drina, while he is constructive for introducing that blockade. He is a constructive traitor, and that is just about all he is constructive in," Seselj said.

Opposition Examines Milosevic's 'About-Face'

AU1709162894 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 94 p 9

[Commentary by Petar Ignja: "The Serbian Water-Mill"]

[Text] The recent about-face in Slobodan Milosevic's Bosnian Serb policy, which he devised in his own peculiar way—abruptly and without a wink—seems to have bewildered and surprised many people. But what is surprising about it? Does a jug not carry water until it breaks [folk saying]? In a moment of enlightenment and regained consciousness it became clear to him that his policy so far, based on the idea of unification of all Serbs (forcefully, rather than naturally), is definitely defeated, and as a man who still has no intention of relinquishing power, he has quite renounced "glorious falcons and hawks" [poetic allusion to Bosnian Serbs] and taken up pigeon breeding.

The world has showered praises upon this move. Milosevic, who was called every name in the book until yesterday, has suddenly become a very cooperative, formidable person, even lord Owen, who attacked him just a month ago and almost insulted him (because of Milosevic's reluctance to cooperate), is saying these days: We have to find a way to help Milosevic.

The world is not bewildered by Milosevic's sudden about-face. It is only we who are surprised and offended. The world is behaving today precisely as the architects of international policy expected it to: reaping precisely what they sowed themselves. To those who launched sanctions against Yugoslavia almost two and a half years ago, it was clear even then that unbending and bellicose Milosevic, when the laws of economics do their job, would turn as soft as a plush toy and as cooperative as a Greek merchant.

It seems like the opposition least understood Milosevic's about-face. Most of the parties are taken by surprise,

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caught unprepared. They are surprised by what inevitably had to happen, just like when a community snow removal service is caught unprepared by snow on the streets of Belgrade in January. Can it be true that the leaders of some opposition parties are really convinced that a war can be waged against the entire world, that such a war can be won, and that all the seized territories can be united in one state, without the consent or recognition of the international community?

What some opposition leaders have not yet understood over the last several years of political engagement, Milosevic eventually did. When Yugoslavia was about to collapse—which most probably could not have been prevented (Who would ever have been able to dissuade Slovenes and Croats from separatism at the time?)—Milosevic was not able to direct the international waters to benefit the Serbian water-mill. At the time he had neither enough knowledge nor enough political experience for anything like that. He was not like [Nikola] Pasic [prime minister of Serbia in the 19th century and Yugoslav prime minister in the early 20th century]. After three or four years, after all those talks held on the peach-colored couch [in Milosevic's cabinet], many trips to Athens, Brussels and Geneva (he was once also in Paris), any man likely to expand his knowledge and despise drunken poker players could learn many things. On the international political stage today he does not feel as clumsy as if he were a communist elephant in a Venetian glass shop, but rather as comfortable as a seal in North Sea. He has become—cooperative.

The Serbian gusle-players will call this treason, believing that self-sacrifice and death are more beautiful than profane life, never understanding that today the most important thing is that the world is satisfied without any dead Serbs. Vuk Draskovic is now experiencing real tragedy. Without a moment to reconsider, he publicly expressed his support for Milosevic's step. However, in the Serbian nationalist frame of mind (plenty of which exists among Draskovic's membership), this support has been understood as Draskovic supporting and getting closer to the ruling party and everything that it stands for! Now, some regional boards of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] have stood up against Draskovic and the party's core leadership, so it seems that the day when furious and disappointed individuals begin to call for his resignation is not so distant. By the way, resignations are our main hobby these days. People will throng and crowd to see a building collapsing, but they will not notice that a new one is arising nearby. Instead of the party making good use of Milosevic's about-face—because what happened is exactly what the party has been calling for the whole time, that is, the cessation of war and the reconciliation with the world—some SPO officials have kicked the vessel and spilt the milk. All this speaks for the fact that our society is far from democracy and its rules for playing the game. Throughout the world it is normal (and useful!) to support a good move by a political opponent, particularly if it benefits state interests. However, this does not in any way signify support for the political opponent, but rather for his particular move. Following which, one is supposed to exploit the good impression that support has left, and amass political points and votes.

What kind of trouble were Djindjic's democrats in after the shock of Milosevic's move? The leader of this party does not hide that politicians must sometimes behave like businessmen, in terms of reaping political profit. Perhaps his rapprochement with Pale should be viewed from that point of view. Several days ago Karadzic called him his companion, friend and collaborator. Djindjic was standing only half a meter away from him, and said nothing. What we are interested in is whether Djindjic really believes that the peace plan drafted by great powers must be turned down, that it can be turned down, and that the war is to be continued until the final victory. If everything has been mere marketing that might or might not profit the foreigners, then Djindjic can be expected to keep offering goods in demand on the political market, and that he will change his production line if he feels that the market is saturated. We may criticize Djindjic, but a genuine virtue of his—his propensity to change his mind—is undeniable. He said once that courage is necessary for any change of opinion, but also some knowledge. In that respect, he is the most European of all our politicians (after all, just consider what Lord Owen was saying about Milosevic yesterday, and what he is saying now).

At this moment [Vojislav] Kostunica's democrats are still holding their own. They do not give a dime for Milosevic's change of mind, being aware that Carthage must be destroyed, after all. Their platform is clear: the foremost Serbian national interest is the unification of all Serbs, without delay. And no support is to be given to Milosevic. Their commitment to principles is well-known, and that is the way they are.

As for the Serbian radicals, everything is known. Their nationalism is not so recent, the question is only to what extent this party will be able to live off of nationalism. Perhaps nationalism has been the inevitability of our post-communist society, but even caviar, if you eat it every day, can become sickening. It is quite unlikely that new points can be scored by playing the same tune, that is, spitting at Milosevic and invoking his betrayal. If people are sick of war and Serbianhood—and it seems they are—then the tune will benefit only Slobo the Peacemaker.

In view of what Momcilo Krajisnik stated recently, one has to wonder whether all of this invoking of Lazar and Milos [Serbian kings, symbols of Serbianhood] was in vain and superfluous. Krajisnik first said that they would not go for any unification with people such as Marjanovic and Lilic; they would only unite with the Serbian people (as if all Serbs think the same and precisely what he thinks), and that if unification failed to come about, there was the possibility that, in the course of time, the

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nation of western Serbs might be formed. By this statement this high official has only confirmed that everything is possible, and acknowledged, to put it miidly, that there are differences and different interests among the Serbs. Which might be the reason why so many centuries have passed and we are still not united.

Does that mean that Milosevic is invulnerable now? He will be as strong as the opposition is weak and disunited. To the question of whether he is invulnerable—he is not. His weakest point is his system. Our opposition has not set its goal yet—the transformation of the failed, half-a-century-old system. And it is even more remote from any idea of how to accomplish it. For that reason the story has a sad end.

Economists: No Expansion Without Eased Sanctions

LD1609203294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1943 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] Milocer, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—There will be no stable production and economic expansion as long as there is a blockade by the international community, said Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic.

A three-day consultation ended Friday at the seaside resort Milocer, Montenegro, where 450 Serbian economists adopted a document supporting the federal and republican governments' and the central bank's measures aimed at boosting economic growth and development.

The results achieved thus far have been described as excellent, especially as regards prices, the foreign currency exchange rate and attaining a positive growth rate.

Kontic said the first phase of economic recovery had ended successfully. He illustrated this with the claim that the country's social product rose 2 percent compared to the same January-July period last year.

He especially urged strengthening financial markets and share-holding, without which, as he said, there could be no market economy.

The economists of Serbia, for their part, warned that inflationary policy must not be repeated, no matter in which form, under which motive or expalanation, and urged strengthening integral markets, especially financial, as a precondition for maintaining current stability of prices and foreign exchange rate.

SPS Official Says New Elections Likely

LD1709151794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], stated in an interview to EKSPRES POLITIKA today that new elections are likely to be called.

Not specifying which elections he has in mind, Jovic said that it would be better to "find a solution for a coalition of parties without elections [as received], because we have other important matters to attend to. If that proves impossible, new elections will be likely."

Replying to a question about the position of the Serbs today and what they have been fighting for, Jovic stressed that "the Serb nation is finally about to achieve its goals and interests—a period of peace and development in close cooperation with the world."

Muslim Army Fires Tank Shells on Mali Zvornik

AU1709143694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Report by Vladimir Mitric from Mali Zvornik]

[Excerpt] Two 100-mm tank shells landed this morning in the area of Mali Zvornik in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and two others landed in Zvornik in the Srpska republic. This latest attack on the FRY did not result in any casualties, but there was considerable material damage. Teams from the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs are on the scene.

According to available information from the command of the Zvornik garrison of the Srpska republic army, the shells were fired by Muslims from the region of Medjedja, some 12 kilometers as the crow flies from Zvornik. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Rugova Favors Confederal Ties to Albania

AU1609205894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] At today's news conference, talking about the interest shown by international circles on the idea of a confederation between Kosova and Albania, president of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that this is an option for an independent and neutral Kosova, with the right to establish confederal ties with Albania, and that this idea has been discussed with foreign diplomats who have visited Kosova. At this conference, Dr. Rugova said that he is pleased with the composition of the general council of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK]. He considered the presidency of this party as a presidency of continuity and consolidation. Our correspondent Mehmet Haziri is on the line to bring more details on President Rugova's news conference:

[Haziri] The split that wandered for a long time like a bugbear in the Albanian world will not achieve any success in the LDK, because this is not an ideological party as the Communist Party was, which used to crush the heads of those who joined it and cut off the heads of those who abandoned it. The LDK is a civil centrist

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party that unites all the people of good will and orientations and has been acknowledged as a democratic movement in the world. That is what President Rugova said at his meeting with reporters.

Commenting on resignations of Dr. Fehmi Agani, the LDK deputy chairman, and Edita Tahiri, member of the LDK Presidency, President Rugova said that these are internal party processes and should not be understood as tragic. We will be discussing the resignation of my colleagues in detail at a meeting of the party's General Council, and we will adopt adequate stances, Rugova said.

Reporters showed interest in the echo to President Rugova's demand for confederal ties between Kosova and Albania. He said that great interest was being shown in the idea, and this is an option for a independent and neutral Kosova, with the right of confederal relations with Albania. We have also discussed this idea with foreign diplomats who visited Kosova and it has been echoed in the world press, Rugova pointed out.

President Rugova welcomed the statements by Holy Father Pope John Paul II during his visit to Croatia some time ago, in which he invited all the peoples of former Yugoslavia to maintain tolerance and peace among one another and supported their right for political freedom and self-determination. He also welcomed various demands to return international observers to Kosova, though, as he said, this will not happen very soon.

Asked by a reporter about warnings to lift sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, Dr. Rugova said that the sanctions against Serbia will not be so easily lifted. The solution of Kosova issue will be one of the conditions to lift sanctions, he underlined.

At this meeting, too, Dr. Rugova briefed the reporters on the intensification of the Serbian violence and repression against Albanians, illustrating this with the killing of Violeta Dervishaj from Decan last week and the arrest of 46 participants in an Isniq demonstration, which was organized to mark the fourth anniversary of the endorsement of the constitution of the Republic of Kosova.

All these Serbian police repressions have created a tense situation in Kosova and, for that reason, we demand greater presence and international protection for Kosova, President Rugova stressed.

Rugova Refuses Comment After LDK Resignations

AU1609145894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 94

[Text] At the news conference in the Democratic League of Kosovo [LDK], it was confirmed that members of the top leadership of that party, Dr. Fehmi Agani and Edita Tahiri, have submitted their resignations.

LDK President Ibrahim Rugova, despite journalists' insistence, refused to comment on this move by his closest associates. Dr. Agani was considered to be not only the ideologist of Rugova's party, but also of the entire Albanian separatist movement in Kosovo. He, as he said, has submitted an irrevocable resignation. It is thought that he did so because he was not satisfied with the composition of the newly elected presidency of Rugova's party, in which the majority of the members are former political prisoners.

'Violent' Police Raids in Podujeve, Decan

AU1809190694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Telephone report by Mehmet Haziri from Pristina]

[Text] The Serbian violence and repression continues in Kosova. The situation has become more tense in Podujeve and Decan following frequent police interventions last week.

After concocting an alleged attack against the police in Siboz village in Podujeve on 12 September, a huge violent campaign against political activists, journalists, and citizens in the villages of this commune was started. The police arrested Dr. Muharrem Avdia, a member of the Kosova Democratic Alliance presidency branch in Podujeve, and Isuf Saliu, a journalist with the BUJKU newspaper and teacher-activist in this commune.

Two days ago, journalist Isuf Saliu was seriously maltreated at the police station. He was called back to the police station today.

A report received by the Kosova Information Center states that policemen in their car heard the shots near Siboz village on 12 September. However, this ambiguous case only helped the Serb punitive expeditions launch a large foray of repression against the population of this area.

There are reports that an expedition of 30 Serbian policemen spotted near the house of a Serb in Balloz village maltreated physically and in the most subjugated way all the casual passersby.

The Information Commission of the LDK branch in Podujeve reported yesterday that during this campaign, the policemen threatened to kill all Albanians just like in 1941, while Chetnik songs were played from a cassette player in the police car.

Reports also confirm that two party activists from Gllamnik village were taken to the police station. Following the death of Hasan Ramadani in Cajkoz village in Podujeve Commune by the Serbian police, over 1,000 Albanian families were raided. Raids and arrests have been committed in Peje and Decan Communes. The situation in these communes has become more tense, especially after the police intervention in Decan, where an Albanian woman died from bullet wounds. In Isniq village in this commune, during a rally to commemorate

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the fourth anniversary of the approval of the Republic of Kosova Constitution, more than 40 participants were taken into custody.

Police 'Armed Operation' in Decan Leaves 1 Dead

AU1909111994 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Sep 94 p 1

[Curr Mazrekaj report: "Small Town Attacked by the Occupier"]

[Text] Decan, 9 Sep—The Serbian police in the commune of Decan have killed someone else. Violeta Dervishaj (23) from Decan, a mother of two children, was killed in her own home by the bullets of an automatic rifle. Her two children and two sisters-in-law were in the same room at the time. The hail of automatic rifle fire caught her as she was holding her youngest child in her arms. This is an unprecedented kind of horror that is hard to describe. The mother Violeta died of her wounds on the way to the hospital in Peje.

Yesterday was market day in Decan. The townspeople did not have the slightest idea that such a scenario had been prepared for them, with the police undertaking an armed operation, murdering, injuring, beating, and imprisoning innocent Albanian citizens. All this started about 1130 when about 30 Serbian refugees from Albania badly beat up in the market of Decan the brothers Uke and Xheladin Ferizaj from the village of Kodrali. After this incident and the intervention of the police, the market was closed down. Many police patrols were evident in Decan, checking citizens' identities. There were cases of provocation and maltreatment.

At about 1330, the police began again to beat up young people, sparing no weapons: rubber truncheons, the butts of automatic rifles, gunbarrels, and clubs. Decan was surrounded. The police blocked the main road and fired guns in the air and in the direction of citizens. This caused total confusion and panic. A hail of bullets rained down from all sides. These bullets also entered the house of the Dervishaj family, fatally wounding mother Violeta.

The firing did not cease even after this crime. A hail of bullets continued to sweep the streets of Decan. It is thought that in the confusion the police wounded some citizens, beating up dozens of townspeople and visitors from other areas, including women, children, and the elderly. However, only four cases have so far been reported from the scene. Astrit Alaj from Drenoc, and Tahir and Agron Cekaj from Isniq were badly beaten, while Zenel Beqaj from Gramogel was both beaten and held for two hours in the police station. Witnesses claim to have seen many people beaten, and at least three wounded.

The situation is still very tense in Decan and its vicinity today. There are few uniformed policemen on the streets, but mainly plain-clothes men. This incident and all the anxiety it has created is being condemned everywhere. Stores and private workshops have closed in Decan in protest and as a sign of solidarity with the victim. Violeta Dervishaj's funeral is to be held in the village of Isniq at 1700 today. A joint meeting of the presidiums of the political parties in Decan today considered the incident to be a planned attempt to provoke larger-scale conflicts.

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